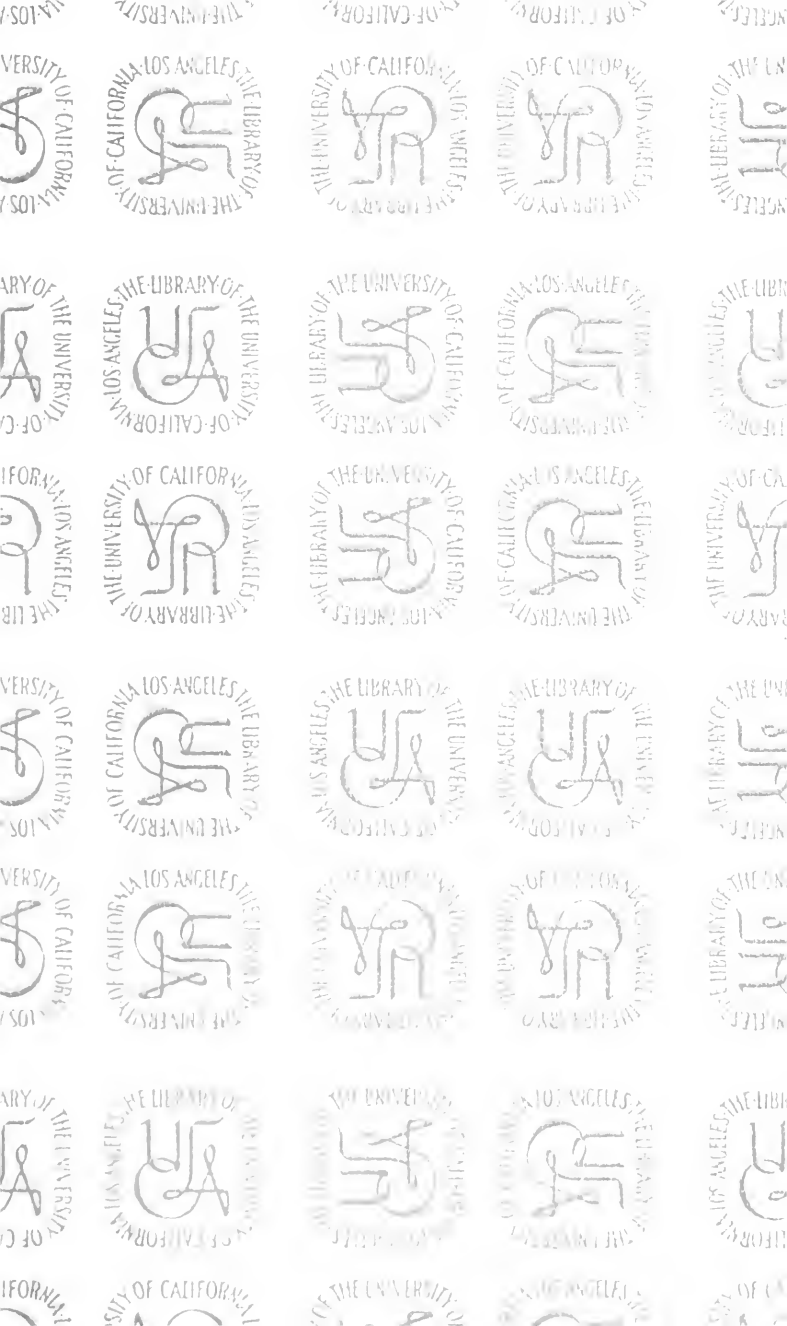




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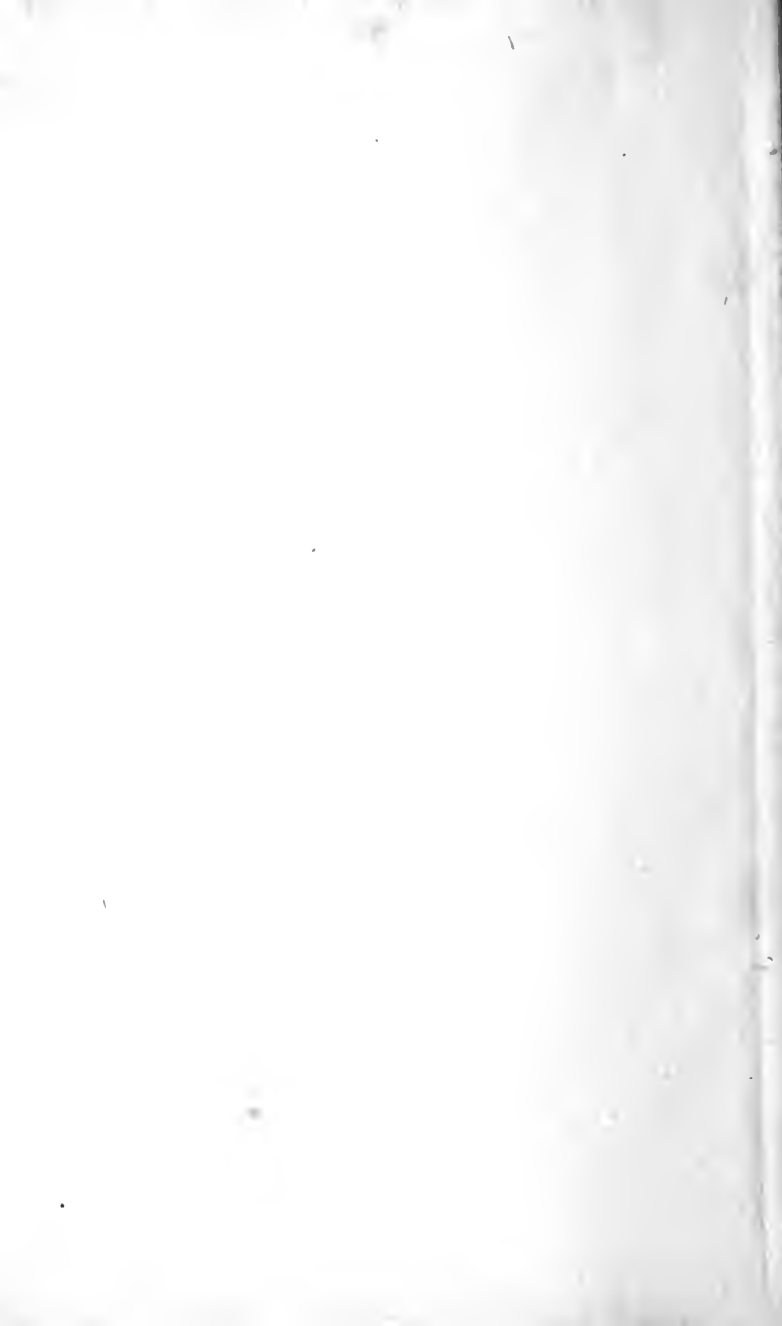
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Wm. J. Mitchell

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THE HIDDEN HAND

THE HIDDEN HAND

BY
ARNOLD WHITE



LONDON
GRANT RICHARDS LTD.

ST MARTIN'S STREET

MDCCCXVII

1917

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY THE RIVERSIDE PRESS LIMITED
EDINBURGH

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TO

ELLIS T. POWELL

LL.B., D.Sc.

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PREFACE

AID and counsel in preparing this work for the Press have been given by many authorities. Especially is my gratitude due to Dr Ellis Powell, and to the editors of *The Referee* and *The Daily Express*. Mr David G. Pinkney, whose intensive labour in counteracting German influence in the shipping world deserves national recognition, has written a valuable chapter. Mr F. C. Culling-Carr, Honorary Secretary of "The British Empire Union," whose knowledge of the science of exact investigation is supported by wide experience in the Indian Police, has also placed me under great obligations. From Mr Grant Richards, the publisher of this book, I have received patient, genial and experienced comment on every line. The value of his criticism is shown by its acceptance.

The object of the writer and his friends is to reveal a portion of the working of the "Hidden

PREFACE

Hand." Before the veil is wholly withdrawn it is to be hoped that the King of England will repudiate personal relations with his Majesty's cousin, the head of the Hohenzollerns, and that for the future, sovereigns of these realms will mate with queens of British or Irish stock.

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CHAPTER I

FOREWORD

THERE are only three forms of government: a competent or incompetent tyranny, competent or incompetent democracy and an uncontrollable world movement which, demanding the right of all to honest, disinterested and efficient rule, creates machinery for that purpose. The greatest event in the history of the world, outside the birth of religion, until the 4th August 1914, was the French Revolution. But the French Revolution, while freely giving ideas to all mankind, made no effort to solve the problem of the distribution of property as distinct from its production. After the French Revolution world-trade was at the mercy of the entrepreneur, the middleman and the profiteer. Germany seized the opportunity of linking middlemen and entrepreneurs with her aim of achieving the mastery of the world. This was the genesis of the Hidden Hand.

The Great War seems not unlikely to end in

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solving the problem of distribution by genuine democracy. Flippant unbelief in the future of mankind jars on most of us to-day as flippant unbelief jarred in the old days of faith. Demos has always sought for a true God and for a real faith, and he cares not how he gets either or both. Faith is successful credulity ; credulity is ill-directed faith. When Stephen is stoned or Latimer burned for what they hold to be true, it is the outcome of faith, but when the worshippers of Thor and Odin perish by millions in the trenches to maintain congenital insanity on the throne—to die for the Hohenzollern dynasty—it is counted in Germany as the true faith ; in civilised countries it is reckoned as credulity and outworn superstition.

From the day when cheapness was raised to the godhead by Cobden the British were losing their faith, until war taught us that security is cheaper than cheapness. Faith has returned. Between religiosity and faith there is nothing in common. The true, cheery faith at last is reborn in the trenches, in destroyers, in trawlers, in cruisers and in battleships. It was born in the Open.

It has always been so. History tells us that the greater part of the sufferings of mankind were

FOREWORD

caused by men who work behind closed doors and turn public affairs to their own private gains. Look at the question of games played in the Open. Our race is taunted with paying too much attention to hunting, cricket and football. The apocryphal saying attributed to the Duke of Wellington is essentially true. To "play the game" is the secret of life. The French have two definitions of truth—*la vérité* and *la vraie vérité*. The latter is only learned in the Open, by enduring contact with the Infinite, by contending with rivals for no other prize than the development of the fine temper, which is the harvest of disinterested effort.

The lack of sportsmanship and inability to "play the game" must lose this war for the Germans; whether they are wicked is immaterial, even though they are efficient. They are not efficient because they do not know how to "play the game." Their faith is in the Hidden Hand. Individual Germans may be gentlemen, but the German nation will not shed its nature after the war. Human nature does not vary. The Hidden Hand will remain the chief instrument of Pan-Germanism until Germany is obliterated from the map.

CHAPTER II

WHAT IS THE HIDDEN HAND ?

EVIDENCE is to be distinguished from proof, which is the effect of evidence. Testimony is that form of evidence which is orally given. Evidence may be direct when, if it be true, the fact to be proved by it is immediately established, and evidence is indirect when it establishes collateral facts from which the main fact may be inferred.

After forty-eight years of elementary education and centuries of "advanced" education in the schools of the old foundations and in the universities few are the people who can distinguish between assertion and proof. The evidence of one's senses is naught. You may think you see a ghost when there is no ghost. If you cross your fingers and touch both with one marble, the evidence of your senses tells you that you feel two marbles. For thousands of years the evidence of the senses of the human race bore witness to the fact that the earth was flat. Evidence, if genuine,

WHAT IS THE HIDDEN HAND ?

establishes true truth ; it lends no help to the man or woman who believes what he or she wants to believe. It lends no aid to credulous democracy.

Circumstantial evidence in law is evidence that tends to prove a fact in issue by proving other events or circumstances which, according to the common experience of mankind, are always attended by the fact in issue. Circumstantial evidence therefore affords a basis for a reasonable inference by the Jury or Court of the occurrence of the fact in issue.

The footprints of Friday on the seashore of Juan Fernandez was circumstantial evidence that a human being other than Robinson Crusoe had either visited the island or was alive on the island or was dead on the island. The finger-prints of a burglar on the sill or frame of the window by which he effected entrance to your house is circumstantial evidence of the strongest kind, since his identity can be established by the whorls of the thumb and finger lines of the vanished hand.

The finger-prints of the Hidden Hand are visible to every cool and competent judge of evidence. The law of evidence is the one department of

THE HIDDEN HAND

knowledge which is never, never taught to women ; to men seldom. I have seen the finger-prints of the Hidden Hand in the Foreign Office, in Downing Street, in Finance, in Ireland and in the Sea Affair by the transfer of the management of the Navy from the Sea Lords to a Germanised Foreign Office. I recognise the whorls, curves and lines of the finger-prints of the Hidden Hand in almost all the departments of State, more especially in the treatment bestowed and the favouritism extended to influential Germans in Britain before and during the Great War. I see the finger-prints of the Hidden Hand in the commercial policy of our country. Especially I note the sinister Teuton thumb-mark in the relations between the German Embassy and the purveyors of public opinion in England before the Germanic war ; also in our Educational and Free Trade policy. Kaiser Wilhelm gave an exhibition of the Hidden Hand when he forced his way into the bedroom at Osborne at the close of Queen Victoria's last illness and insisted on her late Majesty dying in his arms. The British people were almost unanimous in thinking that Wilhelm was an affectionate grandson.

WHAT IS THE HIDDEN HAND?

Two theories exist as to the identity of the owner of the Hidden Hand. The highest authority, Dr Ellis Powell, editor of *The Financial News*, to whom I dedicate this book, favours the belief, founded on evidence, that the Hidden Hand to-day belongs to an individual of supreme ability, working through astute agents, to many of whom his identity is unknown. The other theory is that the Hidden Hand is a system adroitly directed by various agents of the German Government. I do not presume to express any opinion as to which of the two theories is correct. As Will Honeycomb said about the Coronation Chair in Westminster Abbey: "There is a good deal to be said on both sides."

In considering the Hidden Hand we have first to determine whether evidence exists for believing that a malignant, efficient and invisible force has worked and is working for the undoing of the British Empire, especially of that portion of the United Kingdom known as England. The Fleet of the Empire goes into action under the Cross of St George. The stupidity of English politicians refused to give to Ireland the same social recognition and appreciation as was given to Scotland

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at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Scotsmen of family were raised to the peerage. The Union was a real union, and Scotland has conquered, not only England, but Fleet Street and the Overseas nations, much to the advantage of my beloved, stupid, dumbledore but far-seeing countrymen.

English "stupidity" made the Empire, with the help of English sportsmanship, good-nature and repugnance to the bullying of the little man by the big man. The art of governance established by the English is the eighth wonder of the world. I have seen in South Africa, and elsewhere on the face of the earth, a Cockney Englishman, undersized, blasphemous, not physically strong, but possessing the great quality of "last" (which is shared by the Jews), commanding a gang of native labour alongside other gangs in charge of Frenchmen, Belgians, Germans, Italians, Spaniards, Americans and Austrians. Any English Cockney, with a teaspoonful of English blood in his veins, seemed to possess the magical quality of Divine justice which appeals to the human heart all the world over.

The Dagos and the others, in the management

WHAT IS THE HIDDEN HAND ?

of their gangs, gesticulate, shout, throw themselves about, put their backs into their work. But I have never seen a foreigner manage a gang of natives with the success of Englishmen. Firmness, quiet resolve and an invincible sense of justice create the atmosphere favourable to discipline. This is the fact that may give us confidence in the future and destiny of our people. We have seen the same successful management in Australia, Canada, the process of United States, India and the Ten Thousand Isles of the Sea.

The Germans never understood the psychology of the English. Seeing that the English do not understand themselves, it is small blame to the Germans that they do not understand the English. The English unconsciously baited a trap for the Germans. We were told before the war by Germans that England was putrescent. One shake and she would collapse in a pool of corpse filth. In the only heart-to-heart talk with the German Emperor Wilhelm which I ever had I pointed out to him that he was ill served by his Ambassadors at the Court of St James's, on the ground that they reported the doings and sayings of the scum and the

THE HIDDEN HAND

dregs of society, but they were abysmally ignorant of the doings and sayings and outlook of the British middle class, which contains nine-tenths of the directing ability of the British Empire.

For forty years before the war the object of the Hidden Hand was to create an atmosphere favourable to Germany and unfavourable to England. Our financial policy and the discouragement of agriculture twenty years ago made it certain, as many of us wrote over and over again, that the restitution of food grown at home would never be obtained by the scream of the country to the cities, but that it would come with a rush when the cities screamed to the country-side to come over and help them. The cities now scream for food to the country-side. My friend Mr Prothero has always been right, but he suffered the crucifixion of all who would be the Christ of truth—as the Spanish proverb has it.

For many years Germany succeeded in shepherding successive Liberal and Conservative ministries into the corridor that led to the German sheep-dip. The Liberal Party had bid for the Irish vote and, in their turn, were destroyed two years after war broke out, with the aid of the political

WHAT IS THE HIDDEN HAND ?

Vatican, Germany and their Irish allies. If the United Kingdom is not a strategical unit, we are undone. These islands are and always must be a strategical unit, because the freedom of the seas requires the strategical unity of the United Kingdom. Ireland is either German or British. Ireland is the Heligoland of the Atlantic. The Irish Bight is the Atlantic.

CHAPTER III

THE COBDENIC THEORY

As you love music, may I tell you of a discovery applied to our coast-guard stations since the advent of the new Government. For two and a half years of the war, coast-guards, policemen, fishermen and civilians were appointed to listen on the coast to the microphone detectors attached to the wires that were laid in the sea, at right angles to the coast, to give notice of the approach of submarines. The musical ear of these coast-guardsmen, etc., was untrained ; the consequence was that some German submarines were undetected. A trained musician has lately been quartered at the principal coast-guard stations in the United Kingdom. The result is beneficial. Submarines have been detected from two to three miles farther out than was previously the case. Many of them have been bagged, in consequence of the substitution of a musician for a coast-guardsman with an untrained ear.

THE COBDENIC THEORY

The difference between educated and uneducated men is that the former understand when a thing is proved ; the latter don't. It is difficult for all of us to resist the temptation of believing what we want to believe. During the cankers of the long peace between Trafalgar and Jutland, or, as the soldiers prefer to put it, between Leipsic in 1813 and the battle of the Marne, the wish to believe what you want to believe ran rampant in this country. The people are not to blame. Shepherded into error, the people acquiesced in the errors of their leaders. To-day, as we are eating our five and a half ounces of meat and our ration of bread and sugar, we recognise the difference between the cost of security and the cost of cheapness.

When the " Hidden Hand " of Germany pegged out the site of a Golconda in England, owing to the cult of cheapness, the doom or salvation of the British Empire lay on the knees of the gods. After the Franco-German War the Germans passed through a Calvary of pain and trouble, until Bismarck, at the end of seven years, mastered the principle of national ascendancy. From 1871 to 1878 the theory of international Free Trade

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arrested the growth of the German Empire, prevented the creation of a German Navy, and switched off German-directing ability from the conquest and destruction of England.

The Cobdenic theory required prolonged international peace to materialise. Cobden himself foresaw the danger of a war of conquest directed against England. He advocated the expenditure of £100,000,000 on the Navy to ensure safety. But Cobden was half educated ; he never lived in the Open. Great men get all great ideas from the Open. Cobden taught Liberalism what it wanted to believe. Newspapers wanted cheap paper. The capitalist wanted cheap labour ; labour became a commodity. Class war was set up by the middlemen. Class war was followed by world war. We have learned, or are learning, to believe in things that are true truth, not in smooth things that we want to believe.

CHAPTER IV

KINDNESS

THE little things of life are the things that count. A baby is a little thing. The cradle that holds a baby is made of wicker or of wood ; it is not a big thing ; but the cradles of this planet, though little things, are little things that count. British statesmen for seventy years ignored cradles. But international policy is dictated by the cradle. The cradle and party politics having been at variance, the cradle was screened from public view. The French cradle is emptyish. The German cradle, like an electric torch, is refilled nine hundred and thirty thousand times a year. Last year the Russian cradle—I know Russia well—was refilled two million five hundred thousand times. Next year, partly owing to the suppression of the trade in vodka, will contribute three million babies to the Russian census.

Four times have I stood for Parliament ; beaten every time. I have no regret. I wanted to

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say things in the House of Commons, but I am grateful for being able to live on the fringe of my forest and seek for my countrymen the true truth, as the French say. Having survived ambition, I record the impressions of a long life which, in the currency value of the world, is a failure. I do not agree. Heine said that nothing counted but race. Heine exaggerated. Kindness and watchfulness in the relations of men and women count as well as race. We are racially too kind to our deadliest enemies.

People often write books not because they have something to say but because they want to say something, to make money, to advertise or push fads. As my old friend Sir Edward Creasy, the author of *The Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World*, used to say to me in Ceylon: "I do not care the decimal point of a dam a dozen what happens to me if I am right." I have had so much kindness in this world from all and sundry that I am diffident in thinking that I am right, but my basic creed is belief in the invincibility of the British race and of the British Navy so long as we purge our councils of cosmopolitans who buy "honours" and sell our country.

KINDNESS

I have been deeply impressed in life by the quality of kindness often met with where one least expected or thought to find it. All my life I have received much more kindness than I have ever given or been able to give. For many years people charged me with interested motives in my various controversies and attacks on evils needing reform. Then a time came when imputations of corruption and the desire for self-advancement synchronously ceased. The change was not sudden ; it lasted over a period of several years, but I am now sensible, in finishing the walk through the long corridor of life, of the generosity and kindness of man.

I do not pretend to understand women, but recognise that in this dreadful war they have won their way to temporary power. That power will probably cease whenever the inevitable clash between the sexes occurs. There is nothing new under the sun.

Such as it is, this is a man's book. I do not desire to write it. The main reason why it is written is because circumstances prevent a man friend from undertaking and carrying out a literary executorship. My autograph documents

THE HIDDEN HAND

are interesting and explanatory of much that has taken place during the last thirty years, most of which cannot be published in this generation. The play of forces which I have watched is interesting, because the clutch of Germany on England's jugular vein covers the secret history of the last seventy years—certainly of the last forty.

Queen Victoria drew tears at her death and touched the imagination of the majority of her subjects, but it is possible that Queen Victoria's subservience to Uncle Leopold, to Albert the Good and nourishment to swarms of small German royalties and sub-royalties will, ten years hence, make her late Majesty more unpopular than Charles II., and even more unpopular than James II. The influence of the Court during the Victorian era on the growth, development and success of German penetration—dubbed “peaceful” by the pundits—is a fact in history that cannot be explained away. Queen Victoria died in the arms of Kaiser Wilhelm. What of the English watchmen? They slept; succumbed to the subtle poisoned gas of German influence. Heligoland!

King Edward VII., besides being king, was a

KINDNESS

truly great man. He was suppressed by his mother; he was disliked by his nephew, the German Emperor. I have heard from both their opinions of the other. One of them lied. Englishmen know who lied.

At Potsdam, when talking to the German Kaiser, as I walked up and down the terrace of the Neues Palais between him and von Tirpitz, we were discussing the navies of our two countries. I knew something about both—not a great deal, but, from careful study, something. I told the German Emperor I was anxious to get King Edward to understand one fact about our Navy which I had reason to believe was being withheld from him, and that the only way in which he could receive my report, according to a general who was one of his A.D.C.'s—an old friend of mine—was that his Majesty should take the papers into his private apartment. The German Emperor shouted with Rabelaisian joy. His mind is unclean. An hour later I knew that his friendship for England was insincere.

CHAPTER V

INTERESTINGNESS

INTERESTINGNESS is the one quality that counts in the spoken or in the written word. It is personality that grips. Like most English words, interest and interestingness have nearly a dozen meanings. Chief among them is mental excitement of various kinds and degrees, intellectual, sympathetic, emotional or personal, aroused by different phases of human nature. Scientific research, human suffering, mathematics and money-making having engaged the attention, passionate interest is sometimes excited. Interestingness is important as a factor in human affairs. A rhetorician, a *poseur*, a blatherskite is not interesting. He evaporates interest; never creates it.

Mystery is an ingredient of interestingness. In our machine-like life mystery is unprocurable until you escape from convention. Obscure, secret, occult, enigmatical, abstruse, inexplicable,

INTERESTINGNESS

unfathomable and impenetrable facts first excite curiosity, then baffle both curiosity and wonder. The region behind the veil has attracted spiritualistic cranks through all time and in all countries. I have never known a man who tried to penetrate behind the veil who did so without getting scorched. From the witch of Endor to Rasputin, the Russian voluptuary, the story is the same. The Hidden Hand is interesting. ✓

If I could bring any influence to bear upon my friends or the children of my friends, it would be to urge them not to touch the occult. What we know we know. What we do not know on lines of legitimate research we are not intended to know. It is a curious fact that of all the innumerable spirit messages that have ever been delivered by "mediums" to a gullible public there was never one sentence that a third-class journalist in Fleet Street, New York, Berlin, Petrograd, Moscow or Tokio, could not have bettered.

If there is any truth in modern spiritualism spirits are not only feeble; they are foolish. One knows people who absolutely believe in the survival of the soul after death because they declare they have penetrated Behind the Veil and held

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communication with the dead. Professor Haeckel of Jena wrote *The Riddle of the Universe* to prove there is no God. Professor Haeckel, unlike Mr H. G. Wells, did not want to believe in a God. He believed what he wanted to believe, thereby helping the German nation in its Gadarene rush down the precipice of time.

Townsmen who know not the sea or the forest or the Open, and who naturally disbelieve in the existence of forces which they can neither touch, taste, see nor measure, are ignorant of many things that count. No one can live in the jungle, in the forest or at sea without knowing that the interestingness of life comes not from restaurants, streets, palaces or slums, but from the continual play of the great silent forces that govern the progress and destiny of pebbles, princes, dustmen and dukes, and of the hyssop on the wall and the cedars of Lebanon. These laws are mysterious, therefore interesting. They are uncharted and almost unknown. Why impute maleness to God? Why attribute to Nature femaleness? Why is God "He"? Why is Nature "She"? In the early Hebrew times the word "they" was used to express the personality and force of the Higher

INTERESTINGNESS

Law. There are two Hidden Hands: one benignant; the other malignant.

A man or a book is interesting, uninteresting or disinterested. The Empress Marie of Russia, the mother of the Tsar, once told our minister at Copenhagen that I was an "interesting man." I suppose her Majesty qualified me as "interesting" because I had made her cry at Fredensborg Castle when relating the sufferings of Jewish children all over Russia, who were the victims of the theological pedant, the Procurator of the Holy Synod—Pobodonostzieff—commonly known in diplomatic circles as "Pob." He was the malignant Hidden Hand of Russian theology.

Looking back on life, some events stand out like mountain peaks silhouetted against the skyline. When a boy of sixteen I was on board the P. & O. ship *Ellora*, off the harbour of Alexandria, in a furious gale. Lashed on deck I understood for the first time the meaning and power of natural forces. The Arab pilot, taken on board at Malta, collapsed. The captain, as usual with English captains, acted with consummate skill. According to the rules of the game his ship ought to have gone down. She didn't. We lay to for two days

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and one night, when, the gale having blown itself out, we steamed slowly towards the S-shaped channel that leads into the harbour of Alexandria. At six o'clock in the morning the sun was shining ; the sea was calm and some thirty or forty corpses from the crew of a foundered corn ship floated past, some on the surface, some invisible under the blue water. That was my first introduction to the interestingness of life. They were taken and we were left. Why, God only knows.

CHAPTER VI

COLONISATION AND THE HIDDEN HAND

ENGLISH cradles are few ; German cradles many ; Russian cradles are three times as many as the German. Indian and Chinese cradles are even more numerous. These are the factors that determine the foreign policy of the Great Powers ; the cradle dictates to dynasties. “ The poor in a lump is bad ” was the standpoint of Tennyson’s Northern Farmer. Freedom or liberty for men to starve or girls to go to the devil was the creed of England in Cobden’s day. But the fecundity of the poor is the law of nations.

A sweating tailor’s freedom to extort harder work for lower wages from English women and girls in competition with foreign cheap labour and the hawking of English daughters in English streets caused by unrestricted competition in national effort turned me to the solution of the problem of the great cities.

When I was thirty-eight the death struggle of

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carnivorous animals and the destruction of our civil life came home to me as convertible terms. I wrote with sweat and tears, with veins and arteries aglow, *The Problems of a Great City*. Whoever would grapple with the problems of the great cities must bear the burden with a heavy heart.

In 1885 Society, as it was then called, did not care. To-day, in the Great War, it is no longer a question of what will be done with the hewers of wood and the drawers of water, but what will be done by them with Society. The colonel's lady and Mrs O'Grady are sisters under their skin. The vocabulary of religion, the stream of imperfect children during the eighties and nineties and the nineteen hundred and tens poured into an environment of wretchedness and an atmosphere of misery set my heart on fire. Temperate native tribes were decimated by preventable disease, ruined by Hamburg alcohol offered by the Hidden Hand that held the Bible.

The world was girdled by a zone of poisoned drink. Hamburg, Bremen, London, Liverpool and Glasgow sold bad spirits to brown, black and tawny men in the name of Free Trade. That and

COLONISATION AND HIDDEN HAND

other things of the kind created a National Debt that required expiation. Only by Great War can we liquidate the debt.

The innocent always suffer for the guilty. Men and women who created the National Debt do not pay it. They have gone to hell, if there is a hell, or retired with a competence if the new rationing arrangements do not prevent them from enjoying the results of judicious investment. Our National Debt increased at compound interest. The hiss and sparkle of subterranean fire was heard for generations. Each winter, when coal and blankets were unprocurable by the derelicts, the bitter cry of outcast London attracted languid sympathy. Blankets and coal were supplied to the people who suffered silently in agony ; the people who were too proud to scream, who made no sign, persisted in bearing their misery. They were the mothers and fathers of the armies of the Somme and the Ancre.

Every spring and summer, when the leaf buds opened and Ascot, Henley, Epsom and Strauss' band engaged the interest of the comfortable classes, the ugly memories of previous winters were chased through the Ivory Gate.

THE HIDDEN HAND

The liquidation of the National Debt began only when a death struggle was forced upon England by an efficient nation with nearly a million babies born every year, requiring food, careers, marriages and homes.

When Germany stopped German emigration I studied the problems of British colonisation in the early eighties. I was helped by many people, principally by the Viscountess Ossington, a woman of whom I can only speak with the reverence that is silent. I dedicated to her my *Problems of a Great City* in these words : " I inscribe all that is good in this book to one who by her life and example has added wisdom to generosity ; to one whose only fear is the discovery by the public of great deeds done in secret and not for fame."

I went six times to South Africa and three times to Canada and amassed what information I could obtain about the art of transferring human beings from one part of the earth's surface to another. When I had gone through the fire I learned how little one knows or can ever know about the shifting of human beings to a new heaven and new earth. Most people confuse colonisation with

COLONISATION AND HIDDEN HAND

emigration. On these two subjects generalisation is easier than on anything else.

The ordinary formula is : “ We are 48,000,000 of people, more or less, growing at the rate of 320,000 babies a year. There are vacant lands across the sea. Unite the idle hands and the idle acres, and the result is happiness and prosperity to those who go, and a relieved labour market to those who stay.” The result would be nothing of the sort. A scheme which simply decants the English unemployed on to the vacant acres—comparatively few of which, by the way, exist—would be to them dire, lasting and unendurable misery, waste, disappointment and death. Now that England—who alone pays taxes on the cost of the wars that gained the lands occupied by the colonists—has parted with her last acre in temperate zones by the cession of Western Australia to the seven thousand heads of families in that favoured colony, she is without a patch of ground under her own control outside the three kingdoms suitable for settlement. In the fifty-second year of the reign of Victoria we were precisely in the same position as we were in the last year of the reign of George III. We are landless. It is now treason

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to talk of "our" Colonies. The English have no more direct power to influence, against their will, the great self-governing Overseas States than to influence France or the United States. People may talk with the eloquence of Demosthenes about the union of hearts. Where there is no union of interests, there is no union of hearts. England's trade with the Colonies was then subjected to taxes on precisely the same tariff as the trade of Germany.

The Hidden Hand of Germany has wielded potent influence in directing British emigration and colonisation. When I was in Ceylon many years ago there was a German firm. Just before the war the son of the head of this firm was at St Moritz ; also the Crown Prince of Prussia. They spent their days together. A week before war was declared a dinner was given at the German Club in Colombo, when the son of the German merchant was openly toasted as the future Governor of Ceylon. On war being declared all the Germans were interned, as they were found intriguing with natives, and finally were sent to Australia. A lady, some months after travelling to England, met this man, whose name is Rhin-

COLONISATION AND HIDDEN HAND

hardt Freudenberg, on the steamer. When she remarked that she thought all Germans of military age had been interned he told her that he had been exchanged for an English colonel in the Army. Who was responsible ?

CHAPTER VII

THE HIDDEN HAND AND THE KING

WITH proper pride the King of England occupies the highest position in the world. His power is not derived from his Navy or from his two million soldiers now fighting in the shell-scored fields of Flanders and of France. His power is not derived from the fact that his troops are holding one hundred and twenty miles of the frontier between the barbarian Huns and the civilised nations of the West. The King is a male sovereign, a man invested for life and by hereditary succession with supreme authority over our nation. The King can do no wrong; no action can be brought against the King. I have met the reigning King of England once in my life, as the guest of his father, then Prince of Wales, on board H.M.Y. *Osborne*. The day before I went on board on Cowes roads, H.H.S. *Thrush*, under the command of Prince George, had arrived from the West Indies. His Royal Highness the

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Prince of Wales had invited me to be his guest for a portion of the Cowes week under peculiar circumstances. He had previously invited me to be his guest and I had respectfully asked permission to decline his invitation. Invited to Marlborough House to explain my refusal, I stated the facts: I had written a book entitled *Tries at Truth*, in which appeared the following paragraphs:—

“In America the general tone of Society is hostile to idle lives, and to those who spangle a trivial existence with a network of amusement. In England the drift of public opinion is not so distinctly opposed to a life of apparent amusement. The head of Society is the Prince of Wales. Where he leads others follow. Day by day, when in London, some of his doings are chronicled by the Court Newsmen, and form, therefore, a legitimate subject for respectful comment. It may fairly be assumed that those engagements of the head of English Society which are officially reported in the daily Press are occupations desirable in themselves, and worthy of imitation by all loyal subjects. I have before me a list of the Prince of

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Wales's occupations, as reported in the papers, from the 1st January, to the 30th September, 1890. It is, for the most part, a list of the engagements of a man of pleasure. Everyone unites in lauding the Prince of Wales for the admirable manner in which he fills his position. He is deservedly popular with the racing community. Twenty-eight race meetings were honoured with his Royal Highness' presence. Thirty times he went to the theatre. He is popular with the great profession of mummers. Forty-three times he went to dinner-parties, banquets, balls, garden-parties, and concerts. Accordingly, he is popular with that minute portion of Society able to entertain Royalty. Eleven attendances at the House of Lords, and the official and charitable engagements, together amounting to forty-five occasions, practically complete the record of the public life of the Prince of Wales while in London during the year 1890.

“ If this record is the ideal of Society, it is not the ideal of the thinking portion of the nation, and he would be an enemy of the Throne who flattered the reigning House with the notion that because all is quiet on the surface, there is no unrest below.

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A Throne that has lasted eight centuries may, perhaps, be upset, but, if upset, can never be replaced. New monarchies are impossible in these days because they are contemptible. They can only be maintained, as the Bulgarian Throne is maintained, by the sword. A Throne must be founded on the wills and the affections of the people, or it cannot stand. An old monarchy, like ours, need never be upset if the occupant of the Throne enters, as the Queen has entered, into the hearts of her people, by presenting the example of a noble life, a pure Court, and a wise choice of friends of high character."

I explained to the Prince that I had written something that would have prevented his extending to me the honour of an invitation to enjoy his hospitality, and which prevented me from accepting his hospitality unless and until he understood the nature of my offending, which I was not prepared to withdraw. He asked me to send him the book. I did so. When he had read the book he renewed his invitation to Cowes. I accepted.

Shortly after I was on board the Prince told me I was a damn' fool for telling him the truth, but that

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he liked it. Next day, when all sorts of great people were on deck, after a couple of hours' conversation with the Prince of Wales, Prince George, now King of England, saw me sitting alone, a middle-class man without political or social influence. He had only arrived the day before from the West Indies, and must have had plenty to say to his father's other guests. He came and sat beside me for half-an-hour and made my stay on board a joy to be remembered. The welcome of the father was extended by the welcome of the son.

The King of England has *le bon cœur*. I have never forgotten it. As the nobles and gentry who adhered to the Cause of the Stuarts melted their plate for Charles the First, I felt and feel a devotion to the King of England that I shall never lose. One more reminiscence. My host had procured my admission as an Honorary Member of the Royal Yacht Squadron. There, after dinner on board the yacht, the evenings were spent. Late, once very late, the picket boat conveyed us to the *Osborne*. Still, we did not go to bed. The lights from myriad yachts illuminated the quiet sea. The Prince spoke of England. He asked if there were

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anything in the world that could vie with so beautiful and inspiring a scene. I thought of Kiel, but said nothing. Kiel was then in its infancy ; the *Hohenzollern* and the *Germania* were not built. To the end of my life I shall never forget King Edward's quiet joy and pride at the manifestation of the Sea Power of England exhibited by the enterprise of yachtsmen and the vigilance of the great Fleet that was lying at Spithead.

Next day the Prince was returning to London to preside at a meeting at St James's Hall on Demography. At breakfast that morning his Royal Highness asked Sir Henry Keppel what was the meaning of the word "Demography." The old Admiral replied : " I'm damned if I know, sir." " I thought as much," said the Prince.

A very good speech was delivered by the Heir to the Throne. I was invited by my host to remain on board the *Osborne* on her journey to Portsmouth. We passed through the lines of the Fleet at anchor. I was invited to come on the bridge as the Prince took the salute. The King of England is the Sea King of the world. In these dark days it is " up to us " to stand by the King.

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Australia understands it ; Canada understands it ; India understands it. Wherever two or three British are gathered together in the Ten Thousand Islands, they understand it. The King of England has been marked down for destruction by the “ Unseen Hand.”

CHAPTER VIII

FRIENDS OF THE THRONE

THE advisers of the King extorted the King's Sign Manual to a decree that war should perpetuate the rule of the Ministry of 1913 by expelling Irish Loyalists from the United Kingdom, hauling down the British Flag (not figuratively, but by express enactment), providing that England is to pay tribute to the Dublin Parliament, while exempting Ireland from contributions to Imperial services and giving to forty-two Irishmen at Westminster plenary powers over every detail of British and Imperial affairs.

Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown. Political nomenclature is meaningless. The country is divided into two classes. In one are the King's friends ; in the other, those who look upon the trappings of a Court and the Civil List of the Monarch as things to be diverted to their own profit.

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The King's Civil List, including the salaries and expenses of his Household, amounts to £470,000 a year. This sum is marked down by the crypto-Republicans for future division among themselves and their henchmen. Four hundred a year may be enough to keep a wife, but is not sufficient to keep a mistress. For the present, Republicans lie low, speak fair and softly with tongue in cheek. The time was not ripe in 1913 for the open declaration of Republican policy, but permeation of the minds of the ignorant with the idea that the Throne is an emblem outworn and useless was proceeding in every Socialist Sunday School, and wherever Republican extremists could exert influence.

I would not sit down to table with Mr Asquith for the same reason that I would not sit down to table with General De Wet, who had, with his sjambok, struck a British officer when a prisoner across the face. Men of all parties have written to me for particulars of an insult which I compared with the insult inflicted on the King by Mr Asquith when he stood by his Majesty's side at the Coronation.

The fact about General De Wet having struck a British officer has never, to my knowledge, been

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contradicted. Immediately after the Peace of Vereeniging, in 1902, a wealthy and generous American gentleman, Mr Henry Phipps, conceived the fine idea of giving twenty thousand pounds to the suffering women and children of both races. The Boer generals had arrived in Europe. In order to secure co-operation between the British Government and the Boer community in the distribution of Mr Henry Phipps' benefaction, it was necessary to secure the consent of Mr Chamberlain and the active assistance of the Boer generals. I was entrusted with the mission. Having obtained Mr Chamberlain's approval, I visited General Botha at Brussels, and subsequently, General De La Rey. I informed Generals Botha and De La Rey of the reason why I would hold no communication with General De Wet, and I met with no contradiction from them of the fact that a brutal assault on a King's officer had been committed by De Wet.

Subsequently they both came to London, where I was invited on three occasions to be present at a meal where General De Wet was in the room. I refused, as any other Englishman would refuse, to sit at meat with him.

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The value of Monarchy and the character of the King are known. The values of politicians and their confederates are also known. They insulted the King, and intend to insult his Majesty again unless the Cabinet is prevented in time from handing over the dignity of the Crown and the people of England, Scotland and Ireland, to the Irish-American Sinn Feiners.

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I have received so many menacing letters, principally anonymous, on the subject of the veiled Republicanism of our late rulers, that it is evident the thrust has gone home. Only truth wounds. The King's mouth was closed at a time when advisers who are his secret enemies conspired with his open enemies to dismember the Empire and despoil the English. The King swore to defend and protect the Constitution. The oath he took binds him to observe the established law. It does not, and cannot, bind him to give his assent to any change in the law. But refusal to accept the advice of Ministers when the time came to sign the Home Rule Bill was only taken at the King's peril and the peril of his Majesty's dynasty. When the people of England understand that their

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King needs their help, will they not rally to him ?

Mr Asquith stood over the King with a wet pen in one hand and, figuratively speaking, a pistol in the other to extort the royal signature. To keep themselves in office politicians would give a certificate of chastity to Messalina, of humility to Lucifer, of simplicity to Mephistopheles, of veracity to Ananias, and of pure religion and undefiled to the Hellfire Club of Medmenham Abbey. Let there be no mistake. Indeed, nothing could have prevented the downfall of our old country except the assertion and recovery of the ancient spirit of Englishmen and Scotsmen. The dominant note of that ancient spirit was always a proud refusal to bend the back and bow the knee to foreign dictatorship. Britain is awake to the peril of the Hidden Hand.

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I preach not to the converted but to the Nonconformists of the four kingdoms. They are mostly Liberal, Radical and Republican. If Oliver Cromwell were here, do they think that he would consent to the dismemberment of the Empire in an age when communication of ideas is

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instantaneous, and when physical communication is more rapid, frequent and cheap than ever before? Cromwell, from his grave, says to the Free Churchmen of Britain :

“ Let us have one heart and soul ; one mind to maintain the honest and just rights of this nation ; not to pretend to them, to the destruction of our Peace, to the destruction of the nation.”

To save the King, we must get his enemies out into the open. Once in the open and on the run, their game is up. The conventions of Society and of Parliament are the iridescent scum on the surface of things ; realities alone count. When the Fleet was at Belfast a committee of citizens entertained seven hundred men each day. After the luncheon the men gave three cheers for the Lord Mayor. Somebody shouted out : “ No Home Rule ! ” A friend of mine who was present was profoundly impressed with the storm of cheering that followed the indiscretion of an enthusiast. The Services are not with the Republicans—they are with the King. From the Highlands to Mounts Bay there are men who are loyal to the King, who

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will give their services, their persons, and their money to the King and his friends.

Pride in the ancient institutions of this country is not confined to the comfortable classes.

To save the Throne and consolidate the Empire, our task is not to persuade but to convince the working classes that the Throne and Imperial unity are necessary to the economic existence of the Empire.

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The Royal Family of England is public property. The influence of the King is a powerful factor in national efficiency. The short-comings of the great public departments leave the withers of Ministers unwrung. The King's interest is dead against inefficiency or waste. Squandering of the people's money in peace or war is like bleeding the wounded. Monarchy in these days, like other institutions, is to be judged by its results. Has anyone in England more thoroughly earned respect and admiration of the public than the King and Queen? They visited India at the peril of their lives. They have shrunk from no duty. Their Court is pure. We have lost faith in Acts of Parliament, in mere changes of Ministers, in

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Royal Commissions, and in Select Committees. Parliament is dying; is blind to its own decay. Like Buddha, parties contemplate their own perfections. But we must look to the Throne as our rallying point. Decay may never be detected by the masses till the nation is in its agony.

To restore efficiency, the Ministry must be a Ministry expressly formed for the purpose of applying the five principles that are necessary to the success of every great business :

- (1) That all appointments depend on capacity to perform the duties required ;
- (2) That servants of the State should be trained for the performance of their duties and proved competent before they are allowed to take up the responsibilities of office ;
- (3) That every State servant should be fairly remunerated for his labour, and that a career should be open to talent, enabling the lowest to aspire to the highest place ;
- (4) That every State servant should have his duties thoroughly defined, and a definite chain of responsibility be established from top to bottom.

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- (5) That there should be active, vigilant and periodic supervision in every branch of every department of the public services throughout.

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Neglect of any or all of these five principles is followed by confusion, extravagance and failure. Hitherto politicians have been made into Ministers not because they are fit for duty, but because they are either masters of words or the nominees of families in the Government caste.

I shall not be surprised if Mr Bonar Law goes down into history as a great Minister. In his scheme of life he appreciates the relation of character and of facts to the business of life.

The pro-Germans are the agents of the Hidden Hand. The sanctity of the parliamentary oath has never been binding on the Left Wing of the Republican Party. If God saves the King you and I must be His agents.

CHAPTER IX

THE KING'S RESPONSIBILITY

No politician, perhaps, ever made a false step with impunity ; and Cromwell's imprudence, so far from being innocuous, was fatal. In the means and arts which he employed to restore kingship he divulged the secret that the nation preferred the government of a King, and by refusal of the coveted Crown, extorted from his fears, he launched upon the public mind the fatal implication that the King desired by the people was Charles Stuart. This incident then concentrated and incalculably raised the hopes of the Royalists, and prepared men's minds for the Restoration.

To keep the Crown out of politics was possible between 1688 and 1911. In 1886, when Mr Gladstone brought in his first Home Rule Bill, the Constitution existed. But even then Queen Victoria told Mr Gladstone that when the Home Rule Bill was presented for her signature she meant to abdicate, because in her opinion the United

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Kingdom was to be broken up, and the moment had come for the Royal Family to vacate the Throne with dignity. At that time no Bill could have reached the Monarch until after it had been approved by both Houses of Parliament.

But we no longer live under a Constitution. To assume that we live under the British Constitution—which was English before it was Scotch or Irish—is infantile. When the King was bullied into a promise to create 500 peers to wreck the Constitution the Hidden Hand struck home at the heart of the Empire. One is reminded of the *bon vivant* who loses his leg but wakes in the night screaming with pain from gout in the missing foot.

The question as to whether a Constitution exists is not one of opinion, but of fact. There is none. It was filched.

Between Ulster and the Hibernian Society, or the Sinn Féiners, agreement is not possible, because the difference is in the spiritual domain; not merely in material things. The principle of Separation and the principle of Union are irreconcilable, and will be fought out by blood and

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cordite if England abandons the responsibility for the Union which Pitt contracted.

The Throne, like every other institution under democracy, is on its trial for efficiency. The Throne is efficient under honest government. The Throne exists for the nation, not the nation for the Throne.

When I stood for North Derry, as “a Liberal Unionist pure and simple,” I spoke twice in the Court House at Derry. From one of the windows the old Wall was visible. At that time I believed Home Rule to be as dead as Julius Cæsar, but on that occasion, as on scores of others, I felt the heavy responsibility of anyone who allowed the people of Ireland to imagine that England could ever surrender her indelible duty to hold Ireland as strategically one and indivisible with the United Kingdom. The rumble of civil war has since then been already heard in Derry.

English Nonconformists seek to destroy the English Church “because of its Romanising tendencies,” and yet back the Hibernian Society, to which no Protestant may belong, with might and main. They subscribe money to “spread the light of pure and simple evangelical truth” in

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Roman Catholic countries, including Ireland, while forcing Irish Protestants into civil war by handing them over to Roman priests from Maynooth and to New York atheists. The British Free Trade Republicans, who are the tools of Germany, have been shepherded and moved by the Hidden Hand like wooden pawns on a chess-board.

The best friends of King George are those who dare to tell him the truth. We wish to see him once more our King, not our puppet. The King has still the chance to be a King by saving his people, who love him and would die for him.

Loyalty to a puppet, whatever its trappings, cannot endure. I have seen in Russia year after year the loyalty of thinking men undermined by the number of grand dukes and grand duchesses who lived on the people for their own pleasures.

Parliament is distrusted and the King is liked and pitied. Political nomenclature, shibboleths, and parties have lost their former spell. The whole trend of thought is towards cleaner and stronger government, where demagogues will be known for what they are worth. We are already a

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republic with an hereditary President who is above party.

The House of Lords never possessed the veto. All it could do was to ask the people if their second thoughts were the same as their first thoughts.

About a hundred and twenty veiled Republicans now sit in the House of Commons. If the King of England is only a puppet, how long will it be before serious Englishmen will express their preference for an elected Second Chamber with full powers and an elected President with full powers ?

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That the Hidden Hand of Germany would strike at the King of England was a foregone conclusion.

India can never be held by a venal, corrupt, conceited and quarrelsome Single Chamber Government in London.

It has required the greatest catastrophe the world had ever seen to pull the scales from the eyes of the masses.

The Dardanelles report, the Irish Rebellion of May 1916, and the attempt to stab the Empire in

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the back in 1917 are events which show the fingerprints of the Hidden Hand.

The subtlety of the attacks on the King's authority and prestige increased the danger. Why should Lord Devonport arrogate to himself the royal right to put us on our honour not to eat more than $5\frac{1}{2}$ oz. of meat and $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of bread a day and $\frac{3}{4}$ lb. of sugar a week ?

King Edward and his son, King George, did their work a vast deal better than many of the Ministers by whom they were served. The Throne is more than a chair. The Crown is more than a bauble. The King of England is not a puppet like the late King of Greece.

Our King has indelible responsibility for his people.

CHAPTER X

MIDSHIPMEN AND THE KING

THE men who seized power, destroyed our Constitution, lowered the standard of public life, lied to the House of Commons, belittled the King, betrayed the women and gambled on the Stock Exchange, while singing godly verses culled from Congregational hymn-books, are defeated. Defeat, however, depends not on grandees, but on plain people, to whom the price of bacon and potatoes is important. The shuddering timidity of the faint-hearted *Spectator* school is always present in great national crises. In 1689, when Londonderry was about to be besieged, some were for closing the gates and resisting, some for submitting, some for temporising. The *Spectator* type of mind in 1689 was represented by the Bishop, Ezekiel Hopkins, who resolutely adhered to the doctrine of non-resistance, and exhorted his flock to go patiently to the slaughter rather than incur the guilt of disobeying the Lord's Anointed.

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To-day there is no question of disobeying the Lord's Anointed. We bind ourselves together to back the King, not to push him. He is the leader and the friend of his people—not of this party or of that, but of the whole people. Our resistance is to support the Lord's Anointed against his wicked advisers. The King's advisers were anointed with mud—an appropriate vesture for those who sneered at the King and lost no opportunity in public or private of belittling his Majesty. Will certain British agents of the Hidden Hand think over what they have actually said of the King in the presence of others?

Soon after his Majesty's accession to the Throne, the Cabinet belittled the Throne by tendering advice to his Majesty to prosecute an obscure and obscene libeller, whose garbage was utilised to spread disloyalty by inducing simple people, untrained in the laws of evidence, to believe that there was "something in it." These Ministers prepared to use the Navy and Army against the Flag of England. If Ministers had had their way an English admiral, commanding a squadron manned by English officers and English bluejackets and stokers, might have cleared for

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action in Lough Foyle. At the head of that estuary, two hundred and twenty-four years ago, Londonderry held out against traitors to the nation. Think of it ! The finest thing in trousers is a British midshipman on the way to become a British watch-keeping lieutenant. I do not know one naval officer who would not rather blow out his brains than kill men, women and children who are fighting to keep their place under the flag of England's Navy—the Cross of St George. The Spanish Armada was defeated under the same flag that flies over every warship to-day. Ministers wished to use a naval force on the Irish coasts to kill our fellow-subjects who prefer the Union Jack to the green flag with the crownless harp. Imagine what would have taken place on board battleships, cruisers, destroyers and submarines if any of them had been told off for that duty in Irish waters. To enable our Ministers to pay their debt of shame the Navy was to be split. It was possible that some regiments in the British Army, or portions of them, might have obeyed orders and fired upon the Ulstermen. I know not. But, thinking the matter over quietly and for a long time, I could never see how the officers and men of any of the

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King's ships could fire upon the King's loyal subjects in order to establish Irish Republicans in power at Dublin. The King knows more about the Navy than any civilian.

Our danger was the apathy of the people and the levity of those who advised them. On 30th July 1913, in *The Bystander*, I read :

“ For my part, as an independent bystander, I am fully prepared to see Home Rule pass, not being at all sure that the opposition against it is nowadays worth the paper from which it is read. One may believe that Separation is as big a mistake as one always has, but many people are inclined to say, ‘ Give it a trial,’ and if it turns out a disaster, well, we have an Army and a Navy, and Ireland is not so far as, and ever so much smaller than, South Africa.”

The importance of this quotation is that it represents the frame of mind that enables rulers to rush their country over the precipice. The assumption was false that Mr Asquith could use the Navy and Army for the purpose of carrying out a nefarious scheme of men soiled with mud.

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In a word, the Navy and Army never were the instruments of any Minister's ambition, not even of that so awe-inspiring a statesman, Mr Birrell, so meticulous a truth-teller as Mr Harcourt, or so dogged and consistent a weathercock as Mr Churchill. None of us objected seriously to Mr Churchill giving his friends a good time in the *Enchantress* under the pretext of public duty. But with the help of those who read and understood we did—God helping us—prevent Mr Churchill from using landing parties from British warships for the coercion of Ulster in the interests of Germany.

The people begin to see that the advisers of the Crown never thought out the situation. They forgot that the silent men of action, who have the last say in everything, were not with them, but against them. The advisers of the Crown were supported by able lawyers and by eloquent and undecorated editors on both sides. The timid Intellectuals did not even yet grasp the situation. They demanded that the Crown should be kept out of politics, after plunging the Crown into the seething cauldron of politics in August 1911.

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The Crown was automatically brought into party politics when the Constitution was destroyed. Is it not common-sense to say that it was more important to prevent killing by civil war than to keep the King out of politics? Influential people, who live delicately and speak in low tones of voice with the accents of refinement, sought to obtain a dissolution by killing a certain number of the King's subjects in Ulster and then squealing that the King's Ministers were to blame. Those academic precisians give one the cross-Channel feeling. According to them, the Empire was to be destroyed strictly according to statute law, like the Dover barracks, which were burnt down without necessity owing to slavish obedience to War Office regulations. The idea of thrusting all blame on the Minister was stupid. The King's latent powers enable him to prevent the killing of the King's subjects. The King's latent powers are six in number :

1. The power of summoning, proroguing (suspending the action of) and dissolving Parliament at pleasure.
2. Of refusing assent to any Bill.

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3. Of making peace, declaring war and making treaties.
4. Of pardoning convicted offenders ; of coining money.
5. Of creating peers, appointing archbishops and bishops, and in general granting all titles of rank and honour.
6. Of the supreme command of the Navy and Army.

Keeping the King out of politics was not the only thing which was destroyed in 1911 by Mr Asquith and his confederates. If the King can prevent civil war and does not prevent civil war the King does wrong. There is no question of veto. A great petition asked the King not to forbid Separation, but to delay it for six weeks—the time required for a General Election. If English parents and daughters wished our English midshipmen and lieutenants to be used in landing parties for shooting down people as loyal as any in the British Islands, well and good. I can imagine ward-room conversations and the staccato, boyish voices in the gun-rooms discussing the situation the day that men-of-war were ordered to

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Ireland to suppress an Ulster rebellion. If a majority of the people were really in favour of the Separation Bill, and preferred civil war to the Union, in heaven's name let the King sign, and the sooner such a nation was damned to all eternity the better for the world. It does not understand the proper use of British midshipmen.

The King exists for the whole nation. He is our father, our friend, our leader. He has learnt the meaning of duty in the stern discipline of the finest service in the world. The King is a naval officer. He will do his duty at all costs to himself and his family. He knew that the ex-Prime Minister was only partly responsible if civil war broke out, because the country was not consulted. If the Army was wrecked, the soul of the Navy killed, and strife raged in every town and village in the Empire, it would have been said, and said truly, by everybody who was not bemused by the intoxication of verbal felicities, that everything could have been avoided had the King not signed. The Separation Bill is unlike any other Bill since 1688, because the King's signature means civil war. Why did Ministers not arrest Sir E. Carson ?

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They dared not. Why did they not arrest the importers of arms into Ireland? They dared not. The then Cabinet repealed the Arms Act to please the King's enemies. Irish Republicans kept the Government in power.

CHAPTER XI

THE NAVY AND THE HIDDEN HAND

FOR two thousand years the Island Kingdom of Japan has never been invaded. For eight hundred and fifty-one years Britain has never been invaded. The French, it is true, in the last decade of the eighteenth century obtained the command of the Channel for a fortnight. All that happened was a languid debate in the House of Lords. Communications, however, which took a month a hundred years ago now occupy seconds.

The functions of the Navy are three :

- (1) To see to it that in all our wars we fight at the doorsteps of the enemy ; not in the streets of our towns and in the cottage gardens of our villagers.
- (2) The second function of the Navy is to ensure our food supply.
- (3) The third function of the Navy was to save this country from Compulsory Service on

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the Continental system set up first by Napoleon, then by Stein and continued by Bismarck.

In the sea the British Empire finds its defence. On the sea are open roads to the coasts of the peninsulas. The sea is always calling to the land, but landsmen are busy. Land affairs are always in evidence. Those who go down to the sea in ships, while they are seeing the Wonders of the Lord, are forgotten by all but the wisest landsmen. Yet the seamen have done more for the building of the British Empire than the Kings of England, politicians, middlemen, merchants, men of science, paid advocates, reformers, schoolmen or soldiers. This is a hard saying, but worthy of all acceptance. The sea is the Mother of all things—British character among the rest.

In the cankers of the long peace which lasted from Leipsic and Waterloo to the Battle of the Marne the land forgot the eternal call of the sea. In *The Daily Chronicle*, 1st January 1914, the present Prime Minister, who has generously and splendidly redeemed his error of judgment, called for reduction of the Naval Estimates of Britain.

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This fact is recalled not for the purpose of girding at the past of our gallant Prime Minister, but to show the nature of the atmosphere which the Hidden Hand had created in this country, mainly by the agency of hyphenated middlemen with guttural accents, mostly naturalised Germans.

To decrease the Royal Navy the Hidden Hand, through the Public Press, not without bribes, and by playing on the vanity of honest editors, successfully opened German trenches in the Foreign Office. Circumstances favoured the German plot. Resistance to Napoleon's Decrees relating to his Continental System sowed the seed that led to the second American War in 1812.

From that time to this the tradition of our Foreign Office has been to favour neutrals, at the expense of the native-born Briton of the Empire. The word "Britisher" is not an elegant one; the word "Briton" stands for all loyal subjects of our King and Emperor.

The passion for neutrals that reigned in the silent immensities behind the portals of the Foreign Office was so complete that the German plot for the destruction of British Sea Power was permitted and even favoured by our sentimentalist

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Foreign Minister. The essence of the Ancient Law of the Sea is the capture of enemy goods, ships and persons using the sea in time of war. On 12th June 1907, an aged Quaker, Sir Edward Fry, an ex-judge who could neither enter his carriage nor leave it without assistance, was dispatched to The Hague Conference. Sir Edward's instructions were, in effect, as Mr Thomas Gibson Bowles and others have set forth, to abandon at the Conference all the law, all the practice and all the tradition of preceding British Governments respecting war at sea.

What did this mean ?

It meant that in the event of war with Germany or with any other would-be master of the world, enemy land communications were to be subject to no disabilities. It meant that the right hand of Britain was to be strapped behind her back. It meant that the avarice of neutrals should be sated before the freedom of the seas was once more established.

The German representative at The Hague Conference was in the prime of life. His brain was clear. His knowledge of the German plot for the downfall of England was complete. The British

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delegates were to abandon British Prize Courts and the judicial committees of our ancient Privy Council, already contaminated by the presence of enemy Germans who had bought their "Honours" by contributions from middlemen profits to political Party funds. Dr Geffken's letter to Sir Robert Morier, of 2nd June 1874, on Private Property at Sea, was accepted by the Foreign Office as the aim of British maritime policy.

Mr Asquith's Government went even further. They announced their willingness "to abandon the principle of contraband of war altogether, thus allowing the oversea trade in neutral vessels between belligerents on the one hand and neutrals on the other, to continue during war without any restriction, subject only to its exclusion by blockade from an enemy's port."

Furthermore, they "would be glad to see the right of search limited in every practicable way—*e.g.* by the adoption of a system of consular certificates declaring the absence of contraband from the cargo, and by the exemption of passenger and mail steamers upon defined routes, etc."

Ten years after the perpetration of this crime, Mr Asquith was offered the dignity of an earldom

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of the United Kingdom and of a knighthood of the Garter. Sir Edward Grey was made a Viscount and a Knight of the Garter, and Mr (now Viscount) Haldane was admitted to the Order of Merit.

Still, the British stillly dislike dictation from foreign countries; still less dictation from foreigners whose interests lie in the downfall of the British Empire.

Representatives of forty-five States numbered one hundred and fifty-six delegates. Here is a list of the States assembled at The Hague for the purpose of destroying British Sea Power. Sweden, it will be observed, had four delegates; Great Britain six, and Germany seven. Bulgaria had three, Austria-Hungary seven, Hayti two, Holland eight, two more than Great Britain.

No. of Delegates

1. Germany . . . 7	5. Belgium . . . 2
2. United States of America . . . 8	6. Bolivia . . . 2
3. Argentine Re- public . . . 3	7. United States of Brazil . . . 1
4. Austria - Hun- gary . . . 7	8. Bulgaria . . . 3
	9. Chili . . . 3
	<i>Carry forward</i> 36

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No. of Delegates—continued

<i>Brought forward</i>		36	27. Montenegro	.	3
10. China	.	6	28. Nicaragua	.	1
11. Colombia	.	3	29. Norway	.	3
12. Cuba	.	3	30. Panama	.	1
13. Denmark	.	3	31. Paraguay	.	1
14. Dominican Re-			32. Holland	.	8
public	.	2	33. Peru	.	2
15. Ecuador	.	2	34. Persia	.	2
16. Spain	.	5	35. Portugal	.	4
17. France	.	8	36. Roumania	.	3
18. Great Britain	.	6	37. Russia	.	8
19. Greece	.	3	38. Salvador	.	2
20. Guatemala	.	1	39. Servia	.	3
21. Honduras	.	0	40. Siam	.	3
22. Hayti	.	2	41. Sweden	.	4
23. Italy	.	5	42. Switzerland	.	3
24. Japan	.	5	43. Turkey	.	5
25. Luxemburg	.	1	44. Uruguay	.	5
26. United States			45. Venezuela	.	1
of Mexico	.	3			—

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Anyone with a sense of humour will wonder why Switzerland and Luxemburg, like Arizona,

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without coasts or naval knowledge, should enjoy two-thirds of the representation accorded to Great Britain, whose life depends on the sea.

What was the aftermath ? For fifteen months after the outbreak of war we heard of German reservists returning to Germany and passing under the guns of the British Fleet held in the jaws of the pincers of our Foreign Office.

For the first time in English history the management of the Sea Affair was taken out of the hands of the Sea Lords and handed over to Foreign Office clerks, some of whom were Germanised or wived by Germans. Germany scored every trick in diplomacy ; and those of us who knew the facts ground our teeth and cursed the fate that compelled us to keep silence while watching the deft manipulation of spineless politicians who were willing to win the war provided they could win without hurting Germany.

CHAPTER XII

THE UNSEEN HAND IN INDIA

LORD CURZON recently made an important statement in the House of Lords with regard to our rule in the East, and the efforts and plots of the Germans to undermine it. As he said : “ For years before the war began the Germans had been plotting and dreaming of a Pan-German dominion, to extend from Antwerp to the Indian Ocean ; to strike at the dominion of Great Britain in India, and to take from us the hegemony of the Eastern world.”

That was the plot, which dated back to 1898, when the German Emperor made a theatrical entry, like an ancient crusader in Jerusalem, and afterwards addressed a great meeting at Damascus, in which he summoned 300,000,000 of the Moslem world to look to him as their one and only friend. The principal incident of this policy was the Baghdad Railway. “ That was the thread on which the whole policy of Germany in Asia

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was to hang." Germany has pursued this aim in India since that date, and she has enlisted to her aid every German and pro-German in the Indian Empire in order to advance these aims.

There can be little or no doubt that the seditious and dangerous plots of the Indian emigrants who returned to Calcutta from Vancouver just before the war, which culminated in murder and rioting directly they returned to their native shores, had been carefully engineered and fostered by the Germans in Canada and elsewhere.

The Government of India was negligent and unnecessarily lenient with the German missionaries scattered over the length and breadth of Hindustan. That this leniency was taken advantage of and abused goes without saying. It was found that these evangelists of the noble Christian religion were distributing disloyal pamphlets amongst their native converts and the public generally, and stirring up sedition against our rule in India.

It was German influence working underground that fostered disaffection of a very disquieting type in the Punjab after the war began. Was the

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mutiny of an Indian regiment in Singapore a coincidence—or was it due to Hun intrigue?

Persons in authority, much the same as in England, before they fully realised the workings of Huns in their depravity, continued friendly relations with Germans in India. There is a story that an English Governor entertained a Wolf in sheep's clothing, and that his German wife was allowed to send her letters uncensored by post. Who can doubt that the *Emden's* captain was furnished with information from German agents along the coast which enabled him to intercept many of our merchant ships and to destroy them, and to bombard Madras? Public protests were unavailing. These were only straws, but they showed how the wind blew with the Indian official, who was permeated with that semi-sentimental twaddle that nearly landed this country into disaster more hideous than war—the repudiation of national pledges and alliances.

For some years before the war, and after the tour through India of the late Mr Keir Hardie, a pro-German in heart and deed, serious disturbances and riots occurred in various parts,

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and the pro-German Scotch cat's-paw was used to pull German chestnuts out of the Indian fire.

The most hopeful and encouraging sign, however, of the real loyalty and good sense of the mass of our Indian subjects is well demonstrated by the courageous and loyal efforts of the Indian Police, in every part of our Indian Empire. They are men taken from the people, and are purely of the people. They for the most part live and do their work amongst their own people, in their own locality, and with hardly a single exception these men, when called upon to face sedition and disloyalty, remained true to their salt.

Some months ago, after defeating the Turks, the Shereef of Mecca issued a Proclamation, which was addressed by him to "All our Moslem brothers." The Proclamation pointed out that the heaviest share of the calamities which had overtaken the Moslem world were due to the Committee of Union and Progress in Turkey (the Young Turk Party), who had attacked and desecrated the Holy Places of the Moslem Faith—namely, Mecca and Medina. The Proclamation continues :

“The Committee of Union and Progress have

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done three wrongs to the Mohammedan religion. Firstly, the bombardment of the Ancient House which God has chosen for Himself. Secondly, they set fire to the Holy Carpet; and, thirdly, the Tomb of Abraham was struck by their desecration.”

The Grand Shereef ends his Proclamation with these important words :

“ Our independence is complete and absolute ; our aim is the preservation of Islam. We trust that in all parts of the world each of our brethren will do his duty as is incumbent upon him, so that the bonds of the brotherhood of Islam may be confirmed.”

The Indian Government may have taken some action with regard to the above Proclamation, though I much doubt it, judging from the fact that it has taken two and a half years of war to force them into issuing a War Loan ; but if they have not, may I suggest to them that this Proclamation of the High Priest and religious Chief of Islam should be translated into all the dialects of Northern India and distributed broadcast by our recruiting agents and others to every Mohammedan in India ? Copies should also be issued to

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all our Mohammedan soldiers in Mesopotamia, and to our Indian regiments fighting in Africa and elsewhere.

The Proclamation would carry great weight and have a far-reaching effect, as it shows clearly that the British Government is fighting, not against Islam, but against those who have desecrated the Holy Places and have attempted to overthrow the Mohammedan religion. The Indian Government cannot too forcibly point out to our Mohammedan fellow-subjects that we are, in fact, fighting a “Jihad” or Holy War against the Turks and their German masters.

[Mr F. C. Culling-Carr, who is the writer of this chapter, was the first to draw attention to the Proclamation of the Grand Shereef.—A. W.]

CHAPTER XIII

THE HIDDEN HAND AND SHIPPING

THE great Pan-German plot, already partly developed, assumed a new and more audacious character on the day the young Kaiser dismissed the Iron Chancellor. It was Bismarck who created modern Germany, and the aim of his life was to secure for her the hegemony of Europe and colonies in which to settle her surplus population. World-power was not his object. He, therefore, stood in the way of the counterfeit Napoleon, whose dream was to conquer the world itself. William II. succeeded his father in 1888, and his first great constructive act was the foundation of a German Navy and a mercantile marine that together would wrest the Trident from our hand, and so remove the only obstacle to the complete development of his madcap enterprise. Only those of us who are old enough to do so can understand from personal experience the stealthy and sure development of that power which was

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to deprive Britain of the command of the sea.

The mercantile aspect of this vital question is, therefore, worthy of a special chapter in this book. In order that we may realise the steady growth of Germany's power to threaten our established cargo and passenger trades, let us compare the relative amount of shipping owned by her and by ourselves during the twenty years immediately preceding the war. And in doing so, let us remember that, apart from mere commercial advantage, there was a still greater necessity for Germany to create a powerful mercantile marine, for without it her great navy would have been powerless except in home waters.

The records of Lloyd's Register of Shipping disclose the following compelling figures—viz. :

Amount of gross tonnage owned by Germany and Great Britain.

<i>Date</i>	<i>Germany</i>	<i>Great Britain</i>
1894	1,214,830 tons	9,838,353 tons
1914	5,459,296 „	21,045,049 „

Reduced to easily memorised proportions, we find from these figures that Germany, over a

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period of twenty years, increased her shipping four and a half times, whilst we have multiplied ours only two and a quarter times.¹

At first sight this may not appear to be a very great achievement in view of the immense superiority we still possess in cargo and passenger vessels combined. But it cannot be disputed that in the establishment of new passenger lines of steamers in all parts of the world, Germany has become a dangerous competitor with British Companies who were the pioneers in this class of traffic. Also, the war has taught us the material advantage a belligerent possesses in having fast passenger steamers that can be converted into light cruisers. From that standpoint it behoves us to keep an ever watchful eye on any future development of Germany's mercantile fleet, which is so bound up with her naval strategy.

Now how did Germany manage, in those few

¹ Perhaps the greatest lesson the war has taught us is that even our 20,000,000 tons of shipping are insufficient to accomplish the triple purpose of coaling our warships, transporting troops and stores, and supplying the nation with food-stuffs from overseas. We know now to our cost that Great Britain is an island, and that by our blind stupidity in ignoring that fact we have only just escaped annihilation.

THE HIDDEN HAND

years, to build up her mercantile fleet ? Partly through our adherence to anachronistic ideals and our habit of giving the treacherous German the fullest benefits of British citizenship, and partly through the Hun system of espionage and a thinly veiled but clever subsidisation of her shipping interests. That is the story in a nutshell. One must also remember that for the last twelve or fifteen years the Unseen Hand has been working hard for the King of Prussia, and has done his (or her) best to crib, cabin and confine every department of our political and commercial life, shipping included.

I will now, and briefly, amplify the foregoing reasons for Germany's remarkable extension in her maritime activities. First, as regards ourselves, the Board of Trade (Marine Department) and our shipowners have ever been *quasi* enemies of one another, and Germany took full advantage of that when, some thirty years ago, she began to buy obsolete British steamers, vessels that could no longer comply with our strict regulations ; and she ran them to and from British ports with smaller crews and larger cargoes than were permitted to our own shipowners, a characteristic

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blunder of our easy-going legislators. Consequently, the German shipowner flourished, whilst the British shipowner languished, and shipping companies grew up like mushrooms in all German ports and batted on our disabilities. And as their carrying trade grew, so did their iron and coal industries, and it was not long before they were able to dispense with British tonnage altogether and to build their own cargo and passenger vessels, and eventually, through our failure to "go with the times," they succeeded in winning the blue ribbon of the Atlantic from us. True, we won it back again by a marvellous though short-lived return to sanity, when our Government financed the Cunard Company in building the *Mauretania* and *Lusitania*, proving once again that, given fair play, the Britisher can go one better than the German. It is not too much to say that if a reasonable amount of State assistance were given to our large passenger lines, we would hear no more about those well-grounded complaints that Germans provide more comforts and better accommodation on their steamers than we do. Were it not so, the Hamburg-Amerika steamers would scarcely have found it worth while to call

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and pick up British passengers in British ports. Even our officials have often preferred German steamers to British vessels. The late Sir Claude Macdonald, who was then our Minister at Peking, travelled to China in a German mail steamer in 1899. We can only hope that never again will any subject of King George, official or otherwise, lower himself by patronising a German line of passenger steamers.

The employment of German clerks in British shipping offices was another insidious method whereby our mercantile secrets were carried across the North Sea, only to be used against us in Germany's good time. Let us profit from experience and shut our doors for ever against all German clerks, however intelligent or however cheap they may be. Better far will it be for ourselves and for those who will "carry on" after we are gone to pay adequate wages for good, honest British work than to employ servile and designing scoundrels, whose sole object is to pick our brains and steal our business.

And our stupidity in having provided Germany with weapons for our own destruction becomes doubly apparent when we consider the measures

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she herself adopted for building up her maritime position. Some of them were entirely praiseworthy, whilst others disclose the usual violation of agreements entered into between honest men and unscrupulous rogues. One instance of this will suffice to prove my case. In order to obviate unnecessary and violent competition in the Atlantic cargo and passenger traffic, which grew to immense proportions before the war, the great European Steamship Companies entered into an international combination called the Atlantic Pool, and by mutual agreement established a scale of freights and passenger fares, to promote a friendly community of interest compatible with the legitimate pretensions of each party to the agreement. On the whole, the arrangement worked fairly satisfactorily, until, as usual, the German Companies showed the cloven hoof, and it was discovered that they had annexed an unfair proportion of the passenger business. The bulk of the emigrants came from Eastern Europe, and as they comprised the dregs of the population in that quarter of the world, it became necessary to establish "control stations" on the frontiers, at which sanitary inspections took place before the

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intending emigrants were allowed to pass to the sea-board, a very necessary and desirable precaution. But it is said that the German Companies set up their own control stations *independently of those of their competitors*, and it requires no stretch of imagination to see that by this dirty trick they managed to "pass" just as many emigrants as they could accommodate in their steamers and swindled their competitors by doing so.

Now, when considering the great German conspiracy for subjugating the world, there is one factor which should never be lost sight of—namely, the perfect understanding that existed between the Government and the people as to the common object to be attained. The people showed the most childlike confidence in, and obedience to, the Kaiser and his ministers as regards the political development of the plot, whilst the Government, on the other hand, was ever ready to give financial help to any commercial enterprise, however daring or ambitious it might be, so long as it could be regarded as a furtherance to the economic development of Pan-German aims. And it must be admitted that but for the present war, which has lifted the veil and disclosed to our

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purblind Free Traders the suicidal policy they imposed on us, there seems no reason why Germany should not have become in the near future the financial dictator of the universe. Once the political power of Britain had been crippled, her commercial supremacy would surely have followed suit. But without the financial backing of the Kaiser's Government, given indirectly through the medium of the four great German banks, and directly by a judicious grant of bounties and subsidies, the phenomenal development of German trade during the last thirty years could not have been accomplished.

Therefore, whenever we speak of the Hamburg-Amerika or other great German Steamship Companies, or of the Westphalian Coal Syndicate or of any other similar German commercial adventure—with all of which we have become too painfully familiar and which were primarily intended as weapons for our destruction—let us always remember that they are not private concerns in the sense in which we regard such institutions in this country. Only Herr Ballin, Herr Thyssen, Herr Stinnes (whose story will be told in this chapter) and other business geniuses employed by

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the Kaiser could tell us where the interests of the Government commenced and those of their various companies ended.

This digression is necessary for the full understanding of the unnatural competition our shipping industry has had to face in recent years at German hands. The facts lead us to form a grim resolve to have no further intercourse with such a nation of outcasts, until it has expiated its crimes and thus become fit for the association of honest men.

Having dealt with the rapid growth of the German mercantile marine we may now turn with advantage to one or two other branches of business which are largely dependent on the shipowning industry. The coal trade calls for very special notice, and the amazing story of Hugo Stinnes, the notorious German coal magnate and shipowner—a great part of which is now made public for the first time—is a typical example of the Machiavellian cunning employed for encompassing our commercial destruction. It should serve as a lesson and a warning to our too-confiding public. For contemptuous audacity it surely has never been equalled since the days of the Hansa League,

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whose power was broken by Queen Elizabeth on the 31st January 1598, when by Royal Proclamation she kicked every German out of England.

Until Hugo Stinnes appeared on the scene our coal industry was almost entirely in the hands of British merchants, and there is no ground whatever for complaint against the small proportion of foreign interests which were and still remain domiciled in our midst. Stinnes, however, was an entirely different proposition, as will now be shown. Some years ago he called upon a London coal merchant of first rank and informed him that he was about to establish a colossal business in British coal, and that he possessed unlimited capital at his disposal ; further, that he had no organisation of his own in this country and was on the look-out for a reliable firm in London through whom to make his purchases. That appeared to be a straightforward proposal and—for the Briton, at anyrate—excellent business. Terms having been arranged, large contracts were entered into and duly carried out, though it seemed hardly possible that the ostensibly benevolent German could escape serious loss on the deal. Such, indeed, turned out to be the case, and for

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some years Stinnes bore his "unluck" with surprising fortitude. But he was not dreaming, nor even sleepy: quite the reverse. This was merely his method of learning the business and of laying down plans, based on the "world power or downfall" idea, made in Germany, for the capture of our coal trade. One fine day, with the expression of many unctuous regrets, he informed the London merchant that their business relations must come to an end, though not before he had made careful provisional arrangements for the engagement of part of the office staff that had carried out the orders he had up to that time placed in London. He then promptly opened offices of his own in London, Cardiff, Glasgow and Newcastle, to be run in the form of Limited Liability Companies. Having thus dropped his mask and revealed the object he had in view, he soon became a powerful competitor with old-established British firms. He established depots abroad for the coaling of steamers, and was ever ready to take orders from British shipowners for first quality British coal at lower prices than our own merchants were able to quote. True, he occasionally forgot to supply the genuine article, and coal of an inferior quality

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kept arriving at his foreign coaling stations for which there was no visible demand. However, having an implicit faith in the good German God, his immortal soul was not endangered by such questionable practices, and Stinnes and his royal partner did a remarkably profitable trade, particularly as William instructed German shipowners to assist the Fatherland by placing their coaling orders on all occasions with his commercial nominee. Then came the war, and the last recorded transaction of this remarkable person was the coaling of the battleships *Goeben* and *Breslau* at Messina prior to their memorable dash for Constantinople. There we will leave this particular branch of his many activities and turn to another of his excursions into the British coal trade, in which our Limited Liability Acts again served him as a valuable cloak to conceal his diabolical intentions.

Having successfully established himself as a middleman, his next step was to blossom out as a colliery proprietor, and no little sensation was caused when it became known that in July, 1913, Stinnes had registered a company with a capital of £500,000 (97 per cent. of which was German) for the purchase and working of the mining rights

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of a great Yorkshire coal-field. This was arranged through Arnold Lupton—the ex-Radical M.P. and Little Navyite—and the natural feeling of resentment occasioned by the announcement of the deal was intensified when the peaceful village of Hayworth was invaded by a horde of German and Austrian engineers and miners. In due course mining machinery, manufactured at Essen at a cost of £200,000, was brought over and installed. In July, 1914, it was observed that the German workmen manifested a sudden longing to return to the Fatherland, and by the 5th August, when war broke out, there were only a few of them left, who were promptly interned and are still the pampered guests of this country. The full story of this affair is related in *The Evening News* of 10th April 1917, and it is to be hoped that as the concern has lately been sold to a really British Colliery Company, we have heard the last of this barefaced attempt to dominate one of our national Key industries.

In order to show still further the power and resource of this German dodger, it should be mentioned that it was he who provided no less than three millions sterling for purchasing and running

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“neutral” vessels from America during the war for the benefit of Germany. If ever there was a case that justified the most drastic revision of our Limited Liability Companies Acts it is that of Hugo Stinnes.

The manufacture of anti-corrosive paints for the prevention of marine growth on the hulls of steamers and sailing-ships is one of the largest industries pertaining to the shipping industry. Needless to say, “the Unseen Hand” for years has been allowed full play with this particular branch of commerce. This trade has been for many years in the hands of the German Holzapfels Limited, Suter, Hartmann & Rahtjens Composition Company, and Von Hovelings. At the outbreak of hostilities, records at Somerset House revealed how extensively these firms were connected with Hamburg, and they have been the subject of comment in the House of Commons, questions having been frequently put by patriotic members as to how it was that his Majesty’s Government not only contracted so largely with these manufacturers over a considerable number of years, but particularly in regard to their continuing such contracts during the war, when practically the bulk of the Capital

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of these firms was held by German-born individuals, to the exclusion of purely British firms, who were supplying a large number of British liners, and important shipowners. It is a well-known fact that on analysis, and in actual results, when given a fair field and no favours, the British paints not only showed equal but superior results. The German Navy is at this moment being entirely coated with paints manufactured by Holzapfels, Rahtjens, Von Hovelings and Hoags. It is lamentable to think that before the war English paints, although well managed, were not given anything like the same chances as the German firms. Important emphasis might be laid upon the fact that the Chairman of Holzapfels—viz. Mr Max Holzapfel—occupied the position at the commencement of war of German Consul on the Tyne, and that soon afterwards he, together with his brother, the Vice-Chairman of the Company, fled the country, and yet this firm is to-day largely supplying their manufactures for coating British warships. It was the son of the former gentleman whom our Foreign Office sanctioned in the position of Vice-Consul at Rotterdam, but owing to the great outcry which

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was made all over the country, the Foreign Office was compelled to appoint in his place a gentleman whose veins contained pure British blood. These firms, owing to the kindness of our officials and laws, have been enabled to change their titles and place their German resident shareholders in the hands of the Public Trustee and blossom out as entirely "British firms," "under British control," and it is regrettable to think that they are not only to-day coating a large amount of Admiralty tonnage, but in some cases even British shipowners have followed the lead of the Admiralty and reinstated them. Finally, it is an utter disgrace and reproach to our country that the German firm of E. von Hoveling should have been allowed to come here to promote and control his company—viz. the BRITISH Antifouling Composition Company Limited.

Much has been said and written about the way British manufacturers allowed their trade to be taken from them by the pushing German and American, and signs were not wanting to show that the criticism had a beneficial effect.

Nothing, however, appears to have been done in the Grain Trade.

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Are the competent authorities satisfied that all is well with this trade as conducted up to the present ?

England, as is well known, cannot produce at home all the grain she requires for food, and must buy from producing countries.

Where those countries are our colonies and sister dominions the shippers are probably British subjects, but in Russia and Roumania, strange to say, there does not appear to exist a single British firm interested in the export of grain.

Seeing the immense quantities of food-stuffs exported by these countries, this neglect seems to be a great mistake.

Competition and speculation amongst the importers in England and the cult of individuality would appear to prevent Englishmen from combining or co-operating for their mutual benefit and that of their country.

Writing with a knowledge of Roumania, I should like to point out how the Germans have succeeded in securing the control of the whole grain trade of the country, and consequently, as grain is Roumania's principal article of export, of that country's finances.

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The Germans and Austrians have established many banks, offshoots of their great central institutions, but disguised as pure Roumanian banks and under the protection of the laws.

These banks gave a great impulse to the export trade, but, as can easily be conceived, their assistance was reserved for such people as were suitable to the managers, and, of course, preference was given to German and Austrian subjects.

As in England, the grain trade of Roumania during the war has been placed under the direct control of the Government.

This control is to continue for at least one year after the declaration of peace. Under this law no one may buy grain from the farmers except through the Government Export Commission.

The value and the quality of Roumanian grain is well known to British importers, and it seems to be a great pity that our nation has taken so little interest in this most important branch of trade. That the trade offers many difficulties may be true, but as this war has proved, difficulties to the British are only there to be overcome, and I see no reason why those interested in the importation

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of cereals in this country should not put their heads together and find some means of putting a spoke in the German wheel, and arranging for England to be properly represented in the grain trade of Roumania, especially now that we are Allies.

Space forbids our dealing with other tempting examples of German penetration into our shipping business. The manner in which German manufacturers absorbed the bulk of the enormous trade connected with the painting of ships' bottoms, as just described, the spy system by which German consuls abroad were enabled to collect the minutest details of our export trade, the unpatriotic manner in which British steamship owners employed German agents at foreign ports, and the German system of bounties and rebates which gave their merchants and shipowners a solid advantage over their British competitors, are only a few of many subjects of deep importance with which it is impossible to deal in a work of this nature. Enough has been said, however, to show that our shipowners, to whose enterprise and intelligence we owe the existence of the 20,000,000 tons of shipping that are still saving us from defeat and starvation, have

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been heavily handicapped in maintaining the premier position we occupy in the world's oversea transport. After the war the task will be greater than ever, and it behoves our Government to take a leaf out of Germany's book and by wise and sympathetic treatment assist them in every possible way, and especially in restoring the losses occasioned by enemy submarine depredations. Given fair play and reasonable support, they can hold their own against all comers. Now is the time to revise our Companies Acts and bring them into line with the Merchant Shipping Act of 1854, under which no foreigner could own a share in a British vessel ; to revise the Navigation Laws as far as modern conditions will allow ; and generally to foster and encourage the industry which, more than any other we possess, is destined to link up the invisible sea roads that connect us with our colonial dependencies and to unite us both in the new-born spirit of Empire. We want ships, enough and to spare, if we mean to use to the full the greatest gift that God ever bestowed on any nation, the Sea. It has never failed us and never will, so long as we follow in the footsteps of the immortal heroes who forged the trident of Britannia. Let

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us put our money on our Mercantile Marine and damn the expense. Potsdam papers please copy.

[Mr David Pinkney is the writer of this chapter.—A. W.]

CHAPTER XIV

THE HIDDEN HAND AND THE CLUBS

THE removal of the National Liberal Club at last accomplished was long overdue. If I remember rightly an official of the National Liberal Club at the beginning of the war publicly expressed the opinion that Germans would always be welcome. The spiritual home of every pro-German crank in the country was the National Liberal Club—a temple of luxury and ease where every enemy of England enjoyed the rites of hospitality. Enver when he was “Bey,” and all the cosmopolitans, all the friends of every country but their own, were made welcome at the National Liberal Club.

I once had an affection for *The Daily Chronicle*. My affection has dwindled to an abiding respect for the personality and integrity of its editor, and for the wonderful work of Philip Gibbs. With singular success the *Chronicle* sometimes knocks the nail on the head. *The Daily*

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Chronicle published an unconsciously amusing article on the subject of the commandeering of the National Liberal Club. According to Mr Donald the National Liberal Club is sacrosanct.

“Let wealth and commerce, laws and learning die
But leave us still the home of Chinese lie.”

It is true the Constitutional Club is also commandeered. The Carlton Club at present is to be left alone ; but the Government's suppression of the National Liberal Club reminds one of the way in which a fire stick is inserted into an ant-heap in South Africa when one requires an ant-heap to serve as an oven. The ants emerge and separate. Some of them do not survive. If they are red ants their non-survival is a benefit to the human race. I never could understand why—this is a parenthesis. The All-Compassionate created us. Also red ants or wasps or scorpions or lice or large bluebottle flies or the insects that infest the hides of our dear dogs and our favourite cattle upon a thousand hills. Also pro-Germans.

The inflated tick on the buffalo, the leech in the jungle, the nip of snakes has always been a mystery. So was the existence of the National

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Liberal Club in the days before the war. Germany had something more than a *pied-à-terre* in Northumberland Avenue, though probably the political Committee of the Club were unconscious of the fact. What are the facts?

Under the thunder of the guns and in the smoke and agony of war he who cannot lay aside the rancid wranglings of Party is but a poor soul. In a fine passage Mr Asquith has spoken of the change of view prevalent throughout political parties, but the angle of vision of the National Liberal Club would not have been altered had it survived. German and pro-German contributors of Radical Party funds and German and pro-German contributors to Conservative or Unionist Party funds regard the National Liberal Club and the Constitutional Club as sure shields against the assaults of common-sense and honest love of country.

It is nauseous cant to denounce the National Liberal Club or the Radical Party if we do not equally denounce the Carlton Club and the Unionist (not the Tory) Party for selling honours over the counter to German and German-Jewish customers. There is not a pin to choose between the two parties before the war. The Radical

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Party, it is true, was nipped in the crack of the German door, but the Conservative Party sold honours while pretending patriotism, connived at free imports, stimulated the rage for cheapness and the ruin of England's friends in Ireland, in the West Indies and elsewhere.

Honesty now comes into its own. We live in the Valley of the Shadow of Death, where there is no room for a National Liberal Club or a Party Carlton Club. We live in days when human nature is godlike, in the trenches and at sea. If that seems exaggeration, think of Robinson who brought down the Zeppelin, of the gunboats and trawlers on their vigil in the Atlantic and the North Sea. Think of the myriads of platoons unmentioned in dispatches, where every man for months, may be for years, has borne the strain of studying how to master the hundred things needed to conquer the Huns. Sea tricks with submarines and trench tricks with Boche soldiers read us a lesson that has remade the nation.

These hundred things no civilian has mastered, but every British and Irish audience contains raw material for the finished article that will conquer the Huns.

CHAPTER XV

THE HIDDEN HAND—AN OPEN LETTER

TO MR SAMUEL

“There never has been any Hidden Hand, and the sooner those who propagate that idea, which, strangely enough, is believed in by a large number of other individuals, limit their activities in that direction the better it will be for the population at large.

“After the right hon. Gentleman’s explanation to-day I hope we shall hear nothing further of the foolish myth of the Hidden Hand.”—Mr HERBERT SAMUEL’S *Speech on the Vote of Credit, House of Commons, Feb. 12, 1917.*

DEAR MR SAMUEL,—In knowledge there is no monopoly. You have much knowledge of the kind that brought men to the front in this country behind the shelter of the British Navy during the period that lay between the battle of Leipsic and the battle of the Marne. As a student of public men, I have always admired and respected your intellectual efficiency, though you are, or were, held in the strong jaws of the Party pincers.

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Possibly you may have been constrained against your will—under Party pressure—to advocate measures repugnant to a trained mind. For that posture allowance is made by men of the world. I rejoiced in your appointment as Home Secretary because I believed that in your administration as the Home Secretary no considerations other than the interests of the country would ever influence your mind. My congratulations on your appointment were made, in spite of your declaration that the grant of self-government to Ireland would be beneficial—or, at all events, harmless—to the United Kingdom. I was fain to hope that when you understood our English character and had mastered the principles of English Sea Power you would discover, as many overseas statesmen have discovered, the paramount importance of the strategical unity of the United Kingdom.

You deny the existence of the “Hidden Hand.” I have seen the criminal finger-marks of the “Hidden Hand” in Downing Street, in the Foreign Office, in the Home Office, in the Admiralty, in the Board of Trade, in the Local Government Board, in the headquarters of the County

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Constabulary, and in the Cabinet itself. The difference between an educated man and a half-educated man is the difference between perception and detection of truth and willingness to believe what one wants to believe. Disinterested study of evidence is the touchstone of statesmanship. You aver that the "Hidden Hand" is a myth. Lawyers and Party politicians are no less liable to error than disinterested students of public affairs. Viscount Haldane, O.M., like yourself, is a man of great intellect. On Tuesday, Sept. 14, 1915, Viscount Haldane said at Dundee, fourteen months after Vice-Admiral Sir Percy Scott had made his memorable statement as to the German submarine peril :

"The Germans might make raids on Britain with Zeppelins or sink ships with submarines, but those were not operations of the slightest military consequence. They were sad, they were annoying, they were contrary to the usages of war, they produced irritation, but they did not affect the result."

If Viscount Haldane, O.M., was wrong in denying the menace to the nation of German submarines, it is possible that even you may be wrong in deny-

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ing the danger to the Anglo-Saxon world, to our Sea Power and to India of the "Hidden Hand." It is a question of evidence, not of assertion. The French, as you know, have two definitions of truth—*la vérité* and *la vraie vérité*. You assert there is no "Hidden Hand." How can you prove a negative?

You will remember Ruskin's lecture in 1869 addressed to the English people. Ruskin told us that if war is to be made by money and machinery, the nation which is the largest and most covetous multitude will win. He continues: "You may be as scientific as you choose; the mob that can pay more for sulphuric acid and gunpowder will at last poison its bullets, throw acid in your faces, and make an end of you—of itself also in good time, but of you first." Ruskin was a prophet. He told us that no iron walls, a fathom thick, could defend us unless we set our minds on multiplying happy Englishmen and not on cheapening English wares. To Ruskin the breeding of strong creatures, friendly and faithful to each other, crowded into every spot of English dominion, to protect us, would prevent either poison or iron from prevailing against us;

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neither traffic with nor hatred of money and marching of nations, said Ruskin, could destroy England.

Disraeli advertised the existence of the "Hidden Hand," then manifested in the form of secret societies. Your counsel, your great abilities, like the counsel, the abilities and the intellect of Benjamin Disraeli, are an asset in the welfare of our common Commonwealth. You speak of the "Hidden Hand" as a "myth." You assert there never has been any "Hidden Hand." You will remember my writing to you the following letter when you were Home Secretary.

"February 21, 1916.

"In your letter of January 14 you were good enough to say, 'You may feel confident that in the administration of the Home Office no considerations other than the interests of this country will ever influence my mind.'

"For the last year I have had incessant complaints from Brighton and Hove of the extent to which Germans and pro-Germans are encouraged.

"The enclosed post card, insulting the British

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Army, was bought by me in the presence of two witnesses on Saturday the 19th inst., at a shop of a German who was interned last year. On his internment he placed his brother in charge—a pure German. This man has recently been in Scotland and has been granted an armlet to excuse him from service.”

I regret to trouble you in this matter, but it is a test case.

I cannot express to you the intensity of the feeling of indignation, which I share, at the contempt poured upon the British Navy and Army by Germans and pro-Germans at large in this country.

If there is no “Hidden Hand,” what was the force that enabled the Brighton Hun to affront the people of Sussex by insult to the British Army and then boast of his immunity?

When Napoleon was a prisoner at St Helena, musing over the failure of Europe, he said: “England can never be a Continental Power, and in the attempt must be ruined; let her maintain the Empire of the seas and she may send her Ambassadors to the Courts of Europe and de-

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mand what she pleases.” The principal power of Britain in the past has been exerted by the Navy. It has saved us from foreign war on English soil for nearly a thousand years.

The reason why England has hitherto never resorted to conscription is because the sea always called successfully to the land in time of war. Command of the sea and the skill and courage of those who go down to the sea in ships enabled this foggy island in the North Atlantic, where neither grapes, olives nor maize ripen, to gain the control of nearly all the vacant places on earth with a cool climate, and to conduct the affairs of three hundred and twenty millions of people in India. The reason why British Sea Power has five times mastered Continental Powers, and is about to master the Central Powers, is not because the Straits of Dover, of Gibraltar, of Bab-el-Mandeb, of Singapore, of Table Bay in South Africa, and the grand harbours of Ireland are the nerve centres of world-power, but because the Fleet has always been able to starve men, women and children of the enemy. When tea was sixpence a pound in bond at Portsmouth, and was six shillings a pound in Bordeaux in 1806, Napoleon was beaten. Why has the

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Navy in this Great War been silenced, belittled and suppressed? Why has the blockade been a farce? Why are the facts suppressed? Is the "Hidden Hand" really a "myth"?

To Germany to-day iron ore is a necessity to kill Englishmen, Scotsmen, Irishmen, Canadians, Australians, Sikhs, Gurkhas, and the splendid Jewish soldiers who belong to many units of the British Empire. What are the facts about the entry of iron ore into Germany through Holland, Sweden, Norway and other "neutral" countries? It is possible that you have travelled in Norwegian waters; that you have studied the conditions under which iron is taken from Narvik in the north of Norway to Holland, which does not possess a single foundry, but is the corridor to Essen—Krupps' gun factory. One of the principal iron ore ports in Europe is Narvik. Bilbao is closed to Germany. The iron ore mines of Norway are at Narvik. Shipment takes place from there. Why is iron ore carried by American ships to Holland, and thence to Germany, unless some force is at work in the interests of Germany, which is hostile to the interests of the British Empire? If the import to Germany of iron ore from Narvik is not

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a “myth,” the “Hidden Hand” cannot be a “myth.”

What is the answer to the German prayer:—

“O Lord, we go forth to smite the foe. Help us to tear their soldiers to bloody shreds with our shells: help us to cover their smiling fields with the pale forms of their patriotic dead: help us to lay waste their humble homes with a hurricane of fire: help us to wring the hearts of their unoffending widows with unavailing grief. For our sakes, who adore Thee, Lord, blast their hopes, blight their lives, make heavy their steps, water their way with their tears”?

In order to carry iron ore from Narvik to Germany it was necessary to stretch the Norwegian territorial limit from three miles to four miles, because the three-mile limit prevented large ships from plying in normal territorial waters. I am credibly informed and believe that the Foreign Office denies that the Norwegian territorial waters have been extended “for the present” from three to four miles. On the other hand, I have evidence that Norwegian territorial waters were widened on or before October 18, 1915. Further, I am

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informed that the West Fjord between the Arctic Circle and N. Lat. 69 was added to Norwegian territorial waters. The effect of this was to enable a ship to go from Norway to "Somewhere" with ten thousand tons of iron ore to blow our sons and brothers to pieces. Mr Samuel, what have you got to say to this? Is there here no sign of the "Hidden Hand"?

Why was Great Britain induced to borrow money at 6 per cent., when the credit of Great Britain really stood at 5 per cent.? Mr Bonar Law has triumphantly proved that.

Why was a naturalised British German made an "unofficial" member of the Finaneial Mission to America, and why was this gentleman allowed to invest a million pounds in the American Loan, which was expressly debarred from investment by British subjects?

Why is the adulteration of public opinion in Ireland by German money allowed to masquerade as Irish "patriotism"?

We neither see the working of gravitation nor hear the operation of any of the great forces of Nature. But, inaudible and unseen, we know they exist. Mysterious to-day, but already

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located and about to be revealed, the "Hidden Hand" is an entity. It commands intellect of the highest order. It is a financial genius. It is cool, inexorable and efficient in the interests of Germany. I have seen the finger-prints of the "Hidden Hand" in the War Office, in the Admiralty, in the Foreign Office, in the Board of Trade, and in Irish government or misgovernment. The demand for a Royal Commission, composed of judges of the Appellate Court, can alone determine whether you are right or I am right. Will you tell me why the Radical Press belittles and smothers Mr Rowland Prothero's work as Minister of Agriculture? The articles in *The Westminster Gazette* on the subject of the Board of Agriculture and Mr Prothero's speeches help the Germans. Prothero has undertaken the work of Titan. If he succeeds, Britain may be saved from scarcity bordering on dearth. If he fails, the men who engineered the failure by refusing to prepare the soil of England for the growth of food at the only time when the production of home-grown food in 1917 was possible, will not decorate lamp-posts. The man to be sacrificed for them will be Prothero. The English are determined that Prothero shall

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not be sacrificed. The occult crime committed by Party political coolies lashed by the "Hidden Hand" to prevent the farmers of England from cultivating the soil will be smitten out of public life. Was there no "Hidden Hand" in their refusal to prepare for the submarine peril?

CHAPTER XVI

THE KAISER'S INVITATION

ONE of the most interesting figures in European history was Lord Beaconsfield. He heard himself abused, countered, attacked and condemned with as much detachment as if another person were being attacked. Disraeli had vision, foresight, decision. He placed the English in Egypt. He surrendered no Heligoland. He acquired the Island of Cyprus. One of his successors offered it as a gift to the Kaiser's brother-in-law. The island was flung back on the doorstep of Viscount Haldane's house—28 Queen Anne's Gate. British Marines have been shot down in Athens and "guarded" by the riff-raff of the Greek Army. The British Marines! Great God!

Disraeli possessed a master mind of extraordinary subtlety, vision, purpose, quick decision and second sight. He brought Indian troops to Malta. In his letter to the then Duke of Marlborough he diagnosed the troubles of Ireland as

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belonging to a people "contiguous to a melancholy ocean." Disraeli was a master of men. He coined phrases that sting and stay. I cannot discover in the *Life of Disraeli* now being published any reference to the epigram uttered by him in a sombre moment about one of his colleagues—Lord Robert Montagu. Of him Disraeli said, during his earlier Premiership, that the noble lord "was sterile in debate, useless in counsel, and a eunuch in opportunity." Eunuchs in opportunity abound. Some of them deserve our sympathy. All of them deserve the sympathy of men in public life who are without virility in opportunity. Disraeli wrote to Lady Blessington: "I detest sympathy, save in good fortune." England wants no sympathy if she fails to win. She need not fail.

Eunuchs in opportunity are the intellectual and spiritual descendants of those creatures of the Byzantine Court who obtained undue power. Some of them played an important rôle; became so prominent that the word "eunuch" came practically to be the name of a great State officer—the Chamberlain. English public life is now divided between eunuchs in opportunity who are

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Chamberlains of the Palace and who wield power in office and men who are full-blooded men. Nobody can visit the House of Commons without noticing the four-hundred-pounds-a-year look in the eyes of the average member. There may be two, three or four hundred men in the House of Commons who have the four-hundred-pound look. But I can only count fifty-four M.P.'s who are men. By men who ARE men I mean---first physical health ; second, sound mind ; third, good judgment ; fourth, disinterested service to our country ; fifth, unwillingness to be made a knight or take a job ; sixth, willingness to die for England, as our gallant seamen and soldiers are dying for her. England is the predominant partner in the great Alliance ; the leader of the British Empire ; trustee of all the oceans for all mankind, with the single exception of the pirate and slaver nations. Men who ARE men alone will win the war. The House of Commons is not representative.

If we owe anything in the world to our Allies and to kinsmen beyond sea it is that we should stand by the Paris resolutions that our Allies and our kinsmen get better trade terms after the war than neutrals who are not neutrals. There can be

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no neutrals in this war. I am puzzled about our metal industry being left in German hands. It is as important as, according to some authorities more important than, the German bank business in London. Merton & Company possess an enormous network of ramifications. Shares in Mertons are transferred to friends of directors and shareholders of Mertons. Unless Mertons are knocked "down and out," they will control the metal industry of the British Empire after the war, as they controlled it before the war.

It is not certain that we shall win this war. But it is absolutely certain that we shall win the war triumphantly if we use the available forces of the Empire and release the Navy from eunuchs in opportunity in the Foreign Office and at the Board of Trade. My old friend, Sir Robert Morier, a predecessor of our brilliant and most capable Ambassador at Petrograd, Sir George Buchanan, told me a hundred times, in long talks in the Petrograd Embassy drawing-room overlooking the Neva and the church dungeons of SS. Peter and Paul, of the deadly danger of the German swoop contemplated by the Hohenzollerns. Leo

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Maxse, in his incomparable *Potsdam Diary*, quotes Morier :

“He [King William of Prussia] has become the mere tool of a wicked and unscrupulous faction, whose passions he has lashed himself up, contrary to all Hohenzollern precedent, to share, whilst he religiously believes that he is God's Viceregent and that he is fulfilling the Almighty's command.”

During the twenty years that elapsed between Morier's impregnation of my mind with the deadliness of the German danger, I have lived in the shadow like many better men than I. But I knew the facts. Morier was the only diplomatist who, as the French say, “*roulé*” Bismarek. But he did, and did it well. For Germany's success the capture of London's Fleet Street was essential. April 1 is the anniversary of Bismarek's birthday. It is also All Fools' Day. The month of April, 1907, commended itself to the German General Staff as the selected moment for persuading representatives of British public opinion that Germany loved England, if not with passionate affection, at all events with a cordial

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sincerity that nobody but a Jingo, a Teutophobe or a fool could mistake.

Accordingly, the following letter was sent to the editors of forty representative British newspapers :—

BERLIN, *April*, 1907.

DEAR SIR,—Recalling the very hearty welcome accorded in England last summer to representatives of the German Press, a Committee has been formed, regardless of political sentiments and representative of all spheres of society in the German Empire, which desires to return the compliment and hospitality then shown, whilst at the same time giving expression to the friendly relations obtaining between the English and German nations. Your obedient servants,

TRACHENBERG HATZFELDT.

FRANZ VON MENDELSSOHN.

FRIEDRICH DERNBURG.

Mr J. A. Spender accepted, Mr J. Ellerthorpe accepted, Mr Sidney Low accepted, Mr A. G. Gardiner accepted, Mr Lucien Wolf accepted, Mr Percy Bunting accepted, Sir Hugh Gilzean-Reid

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accepted, Mr Clement Shorter accepted, the late Mr W. T. Stead accepted. Many others accepted. I neither accepted nor refused the invitation. But I received an intimation from the German Embassy that if I accepted the invitation the German Emperor would refuse to receive any Englishmen. I then wrote to the German Emperor the following letter :—

To HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY,
THE GERMAN EMPEROR,
NEUES PALAIS, POTSDAM.

May 2, 1907.

SIRE,—I had the honour to receive yesterday a courteous invitation from Berlin to be the guest of a distinguished Committee, representative of all spheres of society in the German Empire.

Before accepting or declining this courteous offer of hospitality I have received to-day an intimation that the German Embassy has intervened with a statement to the effect that if my name appears on the list of guests invited to Germany, your Imperial Majesty will refuse to receive the English journalists.

It was further intimated that neither tickets

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nor programme would be forwarded to me, as if the bare statement that your Imperial Majesty personally objected to my presence in Germany were insufficient to deter me from accepting the invitation of the illustrious Berlin Committee.

As I write this letter, in front of me is a German spittoon bought by me in the principal street of Berlin, with the portrait of Mr Chamberlain in such a position that the smoker using it might insult our great Imperial statesman.

When I had the honour of being received by your Majesty at Potsdam I told you frankly that your Majesty misunderstood the temper of Englishmen if you thought that they condoned or forgave the insults of the German Press to our Royal Family.

Your Majesty will remember that you took special pains to convince me that you were a friend of England, instancing no less than five occasions when your Majesty had returned good for evil by benevolent acts towards my country.

The interview was followed by the gift of your Majesty's portrait taken in the uniform of a British Admiral, with an autograph inscription proving the German Emperor's desire to give

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pleasure to an English journalist without social or political influence.

From the date of that interview I have been convinced that your Majesty is the secret, relentless and implacable enemy of my country, and that the maintenance of peace must be the result not of journalistic amenities or Peace Conferences, but the existence of an English Navy so powerful as to encourage your Majesty to ingeminate peace and ensue it.

If I have incurred the displeasure of your Majesty for too zealous an advocacy of British Sea Power, I am reconciled to the erasure of my name from the list of English journalists who enjoy the approval of the German Embassy in London.

I have the honour to be, sire, your Majesty's obedient and humble servant,

(Signed) ARNOLD WHITE.

Warmed with good Rhine wine and glad with "delicatessen," all in Germany was *couleur de rose* to two score British editors. They looked upon a prepared and selected portion of the German Fatherland.

CHAPTER XVII

WHAT THE EDITORS DIDN'T SEE

THE two score British editors had only seen half Germany, but they were right in their appreciation of all Germany. Humanity has produced no higher standard of organised force, intellect and well-being, although Nature has stinted Germany in the building materials of Empire. Her coasts are shallow, her harbours few; much of her soil is poor, and though rivers, forests and mines abound, outlet to the world without lies through foreign territory or the North Sea. England, not Germany, was Nature's favourite when the world was made. Partiality to Britain was part of the cosmic plan. Wealth and Empire came easily to England, because her ocean site intercepted the commerce of the world, and with iron ore inserted alongside her coal measures, the world's carrying trade and the Great Silent Navy followed as matters of course. Luck in the geographical lottery, rather than genius or intention, made us

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what we are. For trade and defence our island is the pick of the planet. Half Germany never forgets it—the editors did not see that. Half Germany regards England much as a consummate card-player out of luck looks on a bad performer who holds the four aces and three kings.

Since Waterloo Germany has won unity and wealth by three wars, prepared for in every detail : wars that were the result of design. The same German preparedness and intricate designing resulted in the present war. England blundered into the Crimean War, from which she got nothing but practice and a warning, while the Boer War—our greatest effort in a hundred years—was the price of refusal to prepare for inevitable struggle. What is the price we are paying to-day for refusing to listen to the late Lord Roberts' warning to his country ?

No matter what mistakes we made, something always happened to save Britain from the consequences of neglect or error. We ought to have lost India in 1857 according to the rules of the game. From Egypt we attempted to abscond, but by comparatively light expenditure in life and money the valley of the Nile is British

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in all but name. We neglected the Navy, and for a time were at the mercy of unfriendly Powers. They let us alone during the period of our weakness. The German General Staff, which is the thinking department for all Germany, and represents the fighting men—that is, half the nation—wonders at English luck, wonders whether it will change, and wonders whether the cards held by England will ever become a German “hand.”

The German General Staff and their chief, the Kaiser, are subject to the imperious commands of a despotic power from which there is no appeal, and who must be obeyed at all costs. The commands laid upon the Staff by this despotic authority haunt the thoughts of German statesmen. It was never explained to the British editors why they were the guests of Germany. The Kaiser, von Bulow and Admiral Tirpitz did not tell them that the invitation was issued in the interests of the unseen authority that rules German policy. This force that dictates foreign policy to the Emperor consists of the flaxen-haired, blue-eyed babies smiling in a million cradles. The redundant cradle is the Dictator of Germany.

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Bureaucrats are its obedient servants. The British editors saw the tranquil prosperity of the Fatherland ; the volcanic force that exists below the surface they did not see. In wars with Denmark, Austria and France, the German Michael found an antidote for intolerable pain. The pressure is becoming unbearable once more. Germany has no colonies to-day.. Every year a million babies are added to the population, for whom food, shelter and careers must be found. Remember, the editors did not see the million babies.

Russia has Siberia ; France, a rich soil and a stationary or dwindling population ; America, ample room to expand ; Japan, the whole Far East ; Britain, her own Empire. Germany, the greatest military Power, has no place under her own flag outside her borders where Germans can live and thrive. Between Germany and the world lies the breakwater of Britain, six hundred miles in length, rich in harbours and protected by a Fleet which the German General Staff reported to the Emperor as nearly four times stronger than the German Navy. Whatever may be said about the German Emperor, there is no doubt that he

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understands the needs of his country and that he represents the aspirations and desires of modern Germany. He knows that no Hague Conferences, journalistic jaunts or flagons of good Rhine wine will affect the history of the world, unless food and careers are provided for the children in German nurseries. The Emperor is the Father of his people. Englishmen who desire peace with Germany will not secure it by sacrificing the babies in British bassinets to infants in German cradles.

Germany wants that which England possesses. Britain wants to be left alone. Starting in the race for Empire eighty years before Germany began, England, if vigilant and alert, can never be overtaken. The choicest territories in temperate climates either fly the Red Ensign or are settled sparsely by English-speaking people. The world is divided up. There are no more claims to peg out. Therefore German expansion means displacing other occupants. The seizure of Schleswig Holstein and Alsace and Lorraine was inspired, not by glory, but by bread and butter. Food, not dynasties or religion, dictates German policy. The babies of the Fatherland arranged the German marriage with the Queen of Holland. Denmark,

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Austria and France were struck down, Kiau-Chau seized, the Kiel Canal built, which has been deepened, the Triple Alliance formed, Press absolutism established, and a navy constructed on borrowed money with feverish energy. Until the cobbler-captain of Köpenick revealed to Germany the habit of blind obedience, which has entered into her flesh and blood, the world scarcely appreciated the despotism of the German cradles to which they cheerfully submit.

Is it surprising that the rulers of Germany looked ahead? Organisation can be carried no further. Educational, industrial, commercial and military systems are all under the care of the German General Staff, whose peace strategy was not exposed to the intelligent gaze of the junketed British editors. German foreign policy is compulsory, and Englishmen are blind if they will not face the facts. Germany attempted expansion in Brazil, but was warned off by the United States; in China she held until lately an isolated post subject to the pleasure of England and Japan. Expansion on her eastern frontier, at the expense of Russia, would cost more than she would gain. Westwards, expansion was too expensive, while the

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British Fleet kept the German Army out of Paris. Southwards the cauldron of race hatred boils furiously, and the demise of the Austrian Crown is as likely to shatter as to strengthen the Empire of the Pan-Germans. There remain Holland and England. Both have colonies. The absorption of Holland is a process that began some years ago, but it is one thing to arrange commercial union with the Dutch and another to establish permanent torpedo submarine nests and naval stations within one hundred and fifty miles of Sheerness.

Admiral von Tirpitz confidently reported to his august master before the war that, in the then state of the two navies, war with England would be disastrous to Germany. The Kaiser is his own First Lord. Versatile as a smart journalist, the Kaiser appreciates the dangers of isolation, and has once more put the helm of the State "hard over." The policy formerly pursued by Bismarck with Denmark, Austria and France is the identical policy now in force against England. It was revealed to intelligent observers by the Kruger telegram. When the Kaiser claimed to be "Admiral of the Atlantic," in a signal to the late Czar, he had not discovered the failure of his own naval policy. The

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Dreadnought and her sisters originated the new German civility, as the Emperor has read Captain Mahan on Sea-Power and is his pupil. Temperamentally optimist, the Kaiser knows neither disappointment nor dejection, and he has stated that despondency expressed with regard to the German Empire ("reichsverdrossenheit") always worries him whenever he hears it. Like most sanguine people, he is an immense talker, and sometimes talks indiscreetly. To Americans at Kiel the Kaiser and his brother, Prince Henry of Prussia, have each spoken about England without reserve and without compliments.

The British editors were invited to Germany in order that, seeing the peaceful half of the German nation, they should qualify as missionaries of Anglo-German friendship, which could exist so long as Germany wished to acquire British trade and territory. The Emperor's advisers revised the list of newspaper guests, and in my case the invitation already issued was judiciously revoked by the German Embassy. The journalists were certified as safe by the Kaiser's hand. I was invited, and my invitation was revoked with Prussian thoroughness. I knew why. The British editors left

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Germany under the impression that German Anglophobia was confined to a small section of the scatter-brains and hot-heads who do not really count. These British editors still claim to guide the British Empire.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE HIDDEN HAND IN FLEET STREET

WHEN the Pilgrim Fathers crossed the broad Atlantic and settled on the Atlantic coast, one of them sitting in his tent, reading the Bible, saw a small brown hand with clutching fingers thrust through the fly of the tent. The Pilgrim Father was a Quaker. He had been reading the Ten Commandments. Seizing a chopper he lopped off the brown hand of the would-be thief, saying : " Friend, thou shalt not steal : thou shalt not steal."

Under the shelter of our national tent we have seen a furtive hand thrust into our midst. For years past the influence of Germanism exerted in England for Teuton interests has been nowhere more effective than in influencing public opinion through British newspapers. Many of the worst enemies of the Freedom of the Seas and of the British Empire have been innocent men, un-

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travelled, speaking no language but their own, ignorant of courts, camps and chancelleries, who for the most part were not to be bought by money to corrupt them from allegiance to their native land. Another currency was required. Von Kuhlmann, the Press agent of the German Embassy in the penultimate pre-war days, was a master of the art of approaching Fleet Street through Fleet Street's "intellectuals." What does Baron de Beyens say on this subject? The Baron, when war broke out, was Belgian Minister in Berlin.

“Le langage des organes germanophiles de la presse anglaise a contribué à le tromper sur les vrais sentiments du peuple anglais à l'endroit de son principal concurrent maritime et commercial. La presse berlinoise citait volontiers les articles du *Daily News*, de la *Westminster Gazette*, du *Daily Graphic*, de la *Nation* et du *Manchester Guardian*, très favorables à une entente avec l'Allemagne; mais ces journaux, que l'ambassade impériale fournissait d'informations 'made in Germany,' n'étaient pas, comme l'Empereur le pensait, les véritables voix de l'Angleterre.”

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When war broke out Fleet Street, in parts, was impregnated with the views of Germanism. Everybody, *quorum pars parva fui*, who refused to bow the knee to the German Embassy in Carlton House Terrace was treated as a fool, crank, liar and an enemy of the human race by that portion of the British Press alluded to by Baron de Beyens.

I noticed for years before the war that if I was asked to speak at a public dinner at which the German Ambassador was present either the German Ambassador would go out or someone would walk round to me while sitting at table with a polite request that if I wouldn't mind my hosts would be glad if someone else proposed the toast entrusted to me according to the printed card.

Not to deal in generalities I give one instance. At the Lyceum Club, not long before the war, I was invited to propose the health of the visitors, a fact duly recorded on the menu card. One of the visitors was Count von Metternich, who had on previous occasions left the room on one pretext or another when my name was recorded on the toast list as one of the speakers. At a certain

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club an old and valued acquaintance of advanced Liberal views came to me and asked: "Would you mind not speaking to-night?" Anyone who has gone through the *corvée* of an after-dinner speaker is only too grateful to anyone who will deliver him from the bondage of public utterance. Count Metternich, who was present, and who has turned out to be one of the most efficient liars in the service of the German Foreign Office, was visibly relieved when my acquaintance returned with the information that the writer of this book would be glad to be relieved from the burden of public speech.

I have no interests except the interests of my country. On another occasion I was given the opportunity of representing a British paper in Germany for a short series of special articles paid for at a high rate. At that time it was not unusual for the British Press to submit special articles about Germany to the German Embassy at Carlton House Terrace. The chief article of my series was unpublished under circumstances which my friend, Mr Kennedy Jones, now M.P. for Hornsey, can relate more effectively than the present writer. If a question is asked on the

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subject in the House of Commons the reply will be interesting.

What happened was this. I had known the German Ambassador, Count Metternich, for many years as a casual acquaintance at various dinner-tables. On my arrival home from Berlin, having received the gift of the Emperor's portrait, with an autograph inscription, which I have now placed in an apartment devoted neither to feasting nor repose, I received a letter from the German Ambassador, asking me to call upon him in Carlton House Terrace. I went. He asked me to smoke a cigar of the second class. The article I had written had been read by him. It is evident that he disapproved. He was right. Had I been the German Ambassador I should have disapproved. After our pow-wow, which was interesting, as the Ambassador evidently thought his Imperial master had been indiscreet, we parted with mutual expression of that high consideration which in the currency of diplomacy stands for anything from contempt to dislike.

On the 5th August 1914 the following advertisement appeared in *The Daily News* and nine other papers :

THE HIDDEN HAND

ENGLISHMEN, DO YOUR DUTY

And Keep Your Country Out of a Wicked and
STUPID WAR

Small but powerful cliques are trying to rush you into it. You must DESTROY THE PLOT TO-DAY, OR IT WILL BE TOO LATE

Ask yourselves :

WHY SHOULD WE GO TO WAR ?

THE WAR PARTY say we must maintain the Balance of Power, because if Germany were to annex Holland or Belgium, she would be so powerful as to threaten us ; or because we are bound by Treaty to fight for neutrality of Belgium, or because we are bound by our agreements with France to fight for her.

All these reasons are false

THE WAR PARTY DOES NOT TELL THE TRUTH

The FACTS are these :

1. If we took sides with Russia and France the Balance of Power would be upset as it has never been before. It would make the military Russian

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Empire of 160,000,000 the dominant power of Europe. You know the kind of country Russia is.

2. *We are not bound to join in a general European war to defend the neutrality of Belgium.* Our treaties expressly stipulate that our obligations under them *shall not compel us to take part in a general European war* in order to fulfil them. And if we are to fight for the neutrality of Belgium, we must be prepared to fight France as well as Germany.

3. The Prime Minister and Sir Edward Grey have both emphatically and solemnly declared in the House of Commons that we have no undertaking whatever, written or spoken, to go to war for France. We discharged our obligations in the Morocco affair. The Entente Cordiale was a pact of peace and not an alliance for war.

4. If Germany did attempt to annex any part of Belgium, Holland or Normandy—and there is no reason to suppose that she would attempt such a thing—she would be weaker than she is now, for she would have to use all her forces for holding her conquests down. She would have so many difficulties like those arising out of Alsace that she would have to leave other nations alone as much as possible. But we do not know in the least

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that she would do these things. It would be monstrous to drag this country into war on so vague a suspicion.

It is Your Duty to Save Your Country from this Disaster. Act TO-DAY, or it may be Too Late

Write your Member that you will try to turn him out at the next election if he does not use his influence with the Government on the side of peace.

Get your local notables to hold meetings of protest against England taking part in the war. Make your Trade Union, your I.L.P. or B.S.P. branch pass strong resolutions. Persuade your clergyman or minister to urge the need for standing clear. Send letters to your newspapers.

There are a thousand things you can do if you really love your country. Distribute the Leaflets of the NEUTRALITY LEAGUE.

WE WANT THOUSANDS OF HELPERS !

Write or call at our Temporary Offices :

D. ROBERTSON, 12 St Bride Street, Fleet Street,
E.C.

Miss TALMADGE, 37 Evelyn Mansions, Carlisle
Place, S.W.

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A copy of this advertisement was read by me to the Institute of Journalists at their Annual Meeting in 1915, when I attempted to persuade my Trades Union that the honour of British Journalism demanded an investigation into the relations between Baron von Kuhlmann and the conductors, proprietors and writers of the journalistic profession.

The following is the correspondence with the Institute of Journalists, of which the then Chairman was the editor of *The Daily News*. The Institute of Journalists was largely under his control.

Feeling strongly on the subject of German influence over British public opinion exerted through the newspapers, I wrote the following letter to the Institute of Journalists :—

WINDMILL COTTAGE,
FARNHAM COMMON, BUCKS.
September 13th, 1915.

SIR,—I venture to inquire whether it is the intention of the Council of the Institute of Journalists :

To institute an inquiry into the relations between the German Embassy and (a) news-

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paper proprietors ; (b) newspaper editors or contributors during the ten years preceeding the outbreak of war ; such inquiry to include the true origin of political advertisements inserted on behalf of the German cause and the ultimate source from which payments for such advertisements, if any, were derived ?

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

(*Signed*) ARNOLD WHITE.

To the SECRETARY, THE COUNCIL OF
THE INSTITUTE OF JOURNALISTS,
TUDOR STREET, LONDON, E.C.

The management of the Institute of Journalists remaining dumb, after the lapse of a fortnight I jogged the Secretary's elbow :—

WINDMILL COTTAGE,
FARNHAM COMMON, BUCKS.
September 27th, 1915.

DEAR SIR,—I should be glad to know when I may look for the courtesy of a reply to my letter of 14th September.

I am, yours truly,

(*Signed*) ARNOLD WHITE.

To the SECRETARY, THE COUNCIL OF
THE INSTITUTE OF JOURNALISTS,
TUDOR STREET, LONDON, E.C.

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THE INSTITUTE OF JOURNALISTS,
(*Incorporated by Royal Charter*),
TUDOR STREET, LONDON, E.C.

27th September 1915.

DEAR SIR,—Your letter of the 14th instant was laid before the last Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Council of the Institute. The Committee gave very careful consideration to the subject matter of your letter, and they have instructed me to inform you that, in their opinion, such an inquiry as you suggest would not come within the province of the Institute.

I am, dear Sir, yours very truly,

(*Signed*) H. H. THOMPSON,
General Secretary.

ARNOLD WHITE, ESQ.,
(*Fellow*).

After the war there is no manner of doubt that the relation between Fleet Street and the German Embassy will be rigorously investigated. Since, however, at the beginning of the war the Institute of British Journalists refused inquiry, I ventured to deliver the following pin-prick :—

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October 4th, 1915.

DEAR SIR,—I have to thank you for your letter of the 27th inst., from which I regret to learn that, in the opinion of the Executive Committee of the Council of the Institute, an inquiry into a matter gravely affecting the honour of British journalism does not come within the province of the Institute.

I am, yours truly,

(Signed) ARNOLD WHITE.

To the SECRETARY, THE COUNCIL OF
THE INSTITUTE OF JOURNALISTS.

Taking my courage in both hands, I resolved to attend the Annual Meeting of the Institute of Journalists and put my case. I was brought to a standstill by the following letter, requiring me to give six weeks' notice of my resolution :—

THE INSTITUTE OF JOURNALISTS,
(Incorporated by Royal Charter),
TUDOR STREET, LONDON, E.C.
5th October 1915.

DEAR SIR,—I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of yesterday's date, which will be reported to the Executive Committee at their next Meeting.

HIDDEN HAND IN FLEET STREET

In reply to your inquiry : All qualified members of the Institute are entitled to attend the Annual Conference to be held on Saturday the 16th October next (not the 14th as mentioned in your letter). Under Standing Order 19, private members desiring to bring any question forward must give notice at least six weeks before the date of the Meeting.

Yours very truly,

(Signed) H. H. THOMPSON,
General Secretary.

ARNOLD WHITE, ESQ.,
(*Fellow*).

The following letter elicited the Institute's reply of the 8th October 1915. The Council was wavering, and on attending the Meeting I found a considerable amount of support, but was defeated, not for the first time in my career, where success subsequently followed.

WINDMILL COTTAGE,
FARNHAM COMMON, BUCKS,
October 6th, 1915.

DEAR SIR,—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of yesterday's date, from which I

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learn that I am precluded from bringing forward any question relating to the honour of British journalism because I have not given six weeks' notice before the date of the meeting.

Again I wish to express regret that under the rules of the Institute of Journalists I am debarred from making an appeal to my fellow-members on the question of the relations between the German Embassy and the British Press.

I return the application for a Conference certificate signed as requested.

I am, yours truly,

(Signed) ARNOLD WHITE.

To the SECRETARY, H. H. THOMPSON, ESQ.,
THE COUNCIL OF THE INSTITUTE OF JOURNALISTS.

THE INSTITUTE OF JOURNALISTS,
(Incorporated by Royal Charter),

TUDOR STREET, LONDON, E.C.

8th October 1915.

DEAR SIR.—With reference to your letter of the 6th instant :

In replying to the specific question in your previous letter, I had to call attention to the Rule

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in question. But if you send in a notice of motion it will be placed on the Chairman's book, and the matter will then be in the hands of the meeting.

Or, you might take an opportunity of speaking upon the motion for the adoption of the Annual Report of the Council, either by the way of general discussion, or by moving an amendment or a rider to the adoption of the Report.

I enclose the Conference Certificate as desired.

Yours very truly,

(Signed) H. H. THOMPSON,

General Secretary.

ARNOLD WHITE, ESQ.,

(Fellow).

October 8th, 1915.

DEAR SIR,—I have the honour to transmit the following extract from “L'ALLEMAGNE AVANT LA GUERRE,” by Baron Beyens (G. Van Oest, Bruxelles et Paris) :—

“Le langage des organes germanophiles de la presse anglaise a contribué aussi à le tromper

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sur les vrais sentiments du peuple anglais à l'endroit de son principal concurrent maritime et commercial. La presse berlinoise citait volontiers les articles du *Daily News*, de la *Westminster Gazette*, du *Daily Graphic*, de la *Nation* et du *Manchester Guardian*, très favorables à une entente avec l'Allemagne ; mais ces journaux, que l'ambassade impériale fournissait d'informations 'made in Germany,' n'étaient pas, comme l'Empereur le pensait, les véritables voix de l'Angleterre " (p, 31).

In view of notorious facts such as the defection of Mr Frank Harris to the enemy I venture to ask whether the Committee still think that the revelation of Baron Beyens is a matter " which does not come within the province of the Institute as affecting the honour of British Journalism " ?

I am, yours truly,

(Signed) ARNOLD WHITE.

To the SECRETARY, THE COUNCIL OF
THE INSTITUTE OF JOURNALISTS,
TUDOR STREET, LONDON, E.C.

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THE INSTITUTE OF JOURNALISTS,

(Incorporated by Royal Charter),

TUDOR STREET, LONDON, E.C.

9th October 1915.

DEAR SIR,—I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of yesterday's date, which will be submitted to the next meeting of the Executive Committee.

Yours very truly,

(Signed) H. H. THOMPSON,

General Secretary.

ARNOLD WHITE, ESQ.,

(Fellow).

The Executive Committee of the Institute of Journalists began to waver.

(1 Enclosure)

October 11th, 1915.

DEAR SIR,—After informing me that the Committee considers that an inquiry into the relations between the German Embassy and the British Press “does not come within the province of the Institute,” and after telling me that “private members must give notice of any resolution at least six weeks before the meeting,” you now state

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that if I send in a notice of motion it will be placed on the Chairman's book and the matter will then be in the hands of the meeting.

May I suggest that the Council of the Institute should take the matter into their own hands and reconsider their decision ?

If the Council has a policy on the matter, surely it is for them to press that policy upon the members. If, on the other hand, they have no policy and adhere to their decision that German influence on the British Press "does not come within the province of the Institute," then in that case the resignation of the Council of the Institute, not a motion by a private member, is the only way to meet the case.

Yours truly,

(Signed) ARNOLD WHITE.

H. H. THOMPSON, ESQ.,

Secretary,

INSTITUTE OF JOURNALISTS.

I moved the following resolution at the General Meeting :—

"That an inquiry be instituted into the relations between the German Embassy and British

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newspaper proprietors, editors or contributors, during the ten years preceding the outbreak of war, such inquiry to include the discovery of the origin of (1) the advertisement headed Neutrality League announcement No. 2 inserted in ten British newspapers on the day after the British Declaration of War and any other political advertisements tending to promote German power or weaken British power during the ten years referred to and (2) the ultimate source from which payment for the advertisement referred to was derived."

When I moved my resolution on a very cold morning I was alone. I had no seconder, but I am not sure that it was I who had "cold feet."

The following is *The Daily News* report of my request to the Institute of Journalists for an inquiry which appeared on the 18th October 1915:—

THE JOURNALISTS' INSTITUTE

German Subornation Charge Repudiated

Mr A. G. Gardiner, the President, occupied the chair at the Thirtieth Annual Conference of the

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Institute of Journalists, held at the hall of the Institute, Tudor Street, E.C., on Saturday.

Mr Arnold White took occasion, on the discussion of the Annual Report, to inquire as to the intention of the Institute in the matter of the relations between the German Embassy and newspaper proprietors, editors and contributors during the ten years preceding the outbreak of war, especially with respect to the origin of political advertisements inserted on behalf of the German cause, and the ultimate source from which payments, if any, were derived. It was a matter affecting the honour of the whole of British journalism, and he hoped the Executive would take it up.

He [Mr Arnold White] referred particularly to an extract from *Germany Before the War*, by Baron Beyens.

“The language of the Germanophile organs in the English Press also contributed to deceive it in regard to the real sentiments of the English people on the subject of its chief maritime and commercial competitor. The Berlin Press quoted willingly the articles of *The Daily News*, *The Westminster Gazette*, *The Nation*, *The Daily*

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Graphic and *The Manchester Guardian*, very favourable to an *entente* with Germany; but these journals, which the Imperial Embassy furnished with information ‘made in Germany,’ were not, as the Emperor thought, the real voice of England.”

He [Mr Arnold White] knew that endeavours had been made to “get at” him, and he did not suppose he was the only English journalist approached. But they had the statement that certain newspapers were supplied by the German Embassy with information “made in Germany” and he felt that the Institute of Journalists were called upon to redeem the honour of British journalism by an inquiry into the relations between the German Embassy and British journalism.

Mr ALFRED ROBBINS asked what it was proposed that they should institute an inquiry about? There was no allegation of any kind of subornation of any newspaper or journalist. When we were at peace with Germany most responsible papers, including *The Birmingham Daily Post*, desired the discovery of some means of establishing an understanding with Germany. That was

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in 1912, at the time of the Haldane mission to Berlin, and British journalists did ask the German Embassy, as did the English Foreign Office, for certain information. They saw no harm in approaching the Embassy of a foreign Power, friendly to ourselves, at a moment when our own Government was seeking a friendly understanding. All the allegation was that certain newspapers who were friendly and strongly supported the idea of an *entente*, had endeavoured to find a way out of the imbroglio. If it had been discovered since that any journal had been suborned or there was any suspicion of that sort, of whom were they to inquire?

MR ARNOLD WHITE : Scotland Yard.

MR ROBBINS asked whether it was to be imagined that they knew the secrets of the German Foreign Office. He hoped that because some of them obtained information, no suspicion was to be thrown upon them because of a quotation from a Brussels minister. Nothing practical was to be obtained by a mere fishing inquiry.

The subject then dropped.

Mr Gardiner was re-elected President of the Institute for 1916.

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In *The Morning Post*, 15th October 1915, the following letter illuminated the situation in Fleet Street :—

“MORNING POST,”

15th October 1915.

“AN OUTSPOKEN FRIEND OF GERMANY”

To the Editor of The Morning Post.

SIR,—The following should be read in conjunction with your leader of to-day. Herr Karl F. Heitmann, former correspondent in England of the *Vossische Zeitung* of Berlin, writing on “A Year Ago in London,” thus describes his farewells in his club on the night of August 4 :

“Just before leaving the club-house, after reading of the declaration of war by England, I saw how Mr Gardiner, the editor of *The Daily News*, an outspoken friend of Germany, was rubbing the tears out of his eyes, while an old friend of mine, a Liberal M.P., could just stutter amid his emotions, ‘What a misfortune ! What a terrible misfortune !’ The secretary of the club said to me : ‘War or no war, our German members are always welcome.’ ”—Yours, etc.,

ERNEST S. BROWN.

LONDON, Oct. 14.

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In the Foreign Office White Paper, MISCELLANEOUS, No. 9 (1914), is recorded the Dispatches from his Majesty's Ambassador at Berlin respecting an official German Organisation for "Influencing the Press of Other Countries." Sir Edward Goschen's dispatch to Sir Edward Grey (now Lord Grey) from Berlin, of 27th February 1914 is interesting to believers in the Hidden Hand. "Willing foreign papers" lent themselves to the German plot. "Willing foreign papers" were not wholly restricted to the alien Press. There is reason to believe that "willing foreign papers" existed and flourished on the banks of the Thames. The enclosure to Sir Edward Goschen's dispatch to Sir Edward Grey, dated Berlin, 27th February 1914, reports on the establishment of a powerful secret association for the purpose of influencing the foreign Press in the interest of the German export trade and of the spread of German influence generally.

"For some time past a variety of schemes had been ventilated in the Press with the object of improving German prestige abroad. It was said that in certain foreign parts Germany was being

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persistently and wrongfully abused, that she could obtain no fair hearing because the Press of those distant countries was in hands hostile to any German enterprise, and because the telegraphic agencies serving those countries were equally biassed. An '*Association for World-Commerce*' was to have remedied this evil by a persistent pro-German propaganda in the countries most bitterly complained of. It was hoped that the necessary funds could have been raised by contributions from all the trading and industrial societies interested in the German export trade, and, in view of the supreme importance to Germany of her export trade, it was intended that agents of the Association should be sent and stationed abroad to assist the exporting industries by timely advice and an active policy generally, such as private individuals could pursue more effectively than officials.

"The opportunity for realising this scheme seemed to offer itself under the following circumstances. A plan was being prepared to start a German-American Economic Society. Similar societies, with an application to other countries, already exist—*e.g.* a German-Argentine Society,

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a German-Canadian Society, a German-Russian Society, etc. The foundation of a German-American Society had been advocated in connection with the revision of the American tariff which gave German industries new chances of an intensified export to the United States. As was natural in any matters dealing with German-American affairs, M. Ballin, of the Hamburg-Amerika Line, was approached to take the matter in hand. He consented. Under his inspiration the idea of a German-American Society was abandoned and the idea of a World Society was substituted. A preliminary meeting was held, at which the various German-foreign societies were represented; there were present also representatives of the 'Central Association of German Industrials,' and of its great rival, the 'Federation of Industrials,' as well as of most of the leading industrial firms. Internal dissensions, however, soon appeared, and several important members sent in their resignations.

"The details of the foundation were to have been settled at a meeting convened for the 26th February; to-day the whole scheme stands prorogued *sine die*. If it is ever realised its plan will

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have to be considerably altered. In the meantime the original plan of a German-American Society has been revived. This society is, in fact, to be constituted in Berlin early in March in the form originally intended.

“It would seem strange had M. Ballin so readily accepted defeat. The explanation lies in the fact that, at the request of very highly placed persons, his interest has been transferred to another more delicate and more or less secret organisation, devised to undertake those duties of M. Ballin’s would-be ‘Weltverein,’ which concerned the German reputation abroad.

“A short time ago a meeting, of which the secret has been well kept, was convened in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, of which Dr Hamann, the notorious head of the Press Bureau of the German Foreign Office, was the originator, and at which the Foreign Secretary himself was present. The meeting was attended by members of the leading industrial concerns of this country: the North German Lloyd, the Hamburg-Amerika Company, the Deutsche Bank, the Disconto Gesellschaft, the Allgemeine Electricitätsgesellschaft, Siemens & Halske, the Schuckert Works, Krupp, the Cruson

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Works, etc. They formed a private company with the purpose of 'furthering the German industrial prestige abroad' — a conveniently vague purpose. The company will be financed by private subscriptions and by a Government grant. The sum at first suggested as a necessary revenue from private subscription was £12,500, but the company present at the first meeting was so enthusiastic that it definitely promised annual subscriptions amounting to £25,000. The Government will add £12,500 per annum—the whole Secret Service Fund, in fact, at the disposal of the Imperial Foreign Office for similar purposes (*e.g.* for the payment of subsidies to certain papers abroad).

"The company has entered into an agreement with the *Agence Havas*¹ that the latter will in future only publish news concerning Germany if supplied through *Wolff's Telegraphen-Bureau*. The latter will receive its German news exclusively from the new company. The company intends

¹ Information since furnished to the Foreign Office has conclusively established that such an agreement, whilst apparently intended by the German company, was not in fact entered into, or indeed ever contemplated by the *Agence Havas*.

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to make a similar arrangement with Reuter's Telegraphic Bureau for those foreign countries in which Reuter controls telegraphic communications. If Reuter declines, the *Deutsche Kabelgesellschaft*, a smaller German news agency supplying telegrams from certain countries (*e.g.* Mexico) and working in agreement with Wolff's Telegraphic Bureau, is to be financed by the new company to run a service in competition to Reuter's.

“All the concerns represented at the meeting have furthermore agreed to pay into the company's hotchpot the very vast sums which they are accustomed to spend abroad for their advertisements in foreign papers. The total of this item alone is believed to be not less than £25,000 per annum—so the annual sum available for the purpose of the new company will reach a total of £50,000 to £75,000. The company will in future issue the advertisements of its members only to those foreign papers which publish German information originating exclusively from the new company, which is to be regarded as the only authentic source of information concerning Germany and all things German. This information they are to receive free of cost or at a nominal sum—so that

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the *willing foreign papers* will derive very material benefits from their collaboration with the company—viz. lucrative advertisements and free matter written in the language of the country in which the papers are published. The foreign Press is to be watched by the company's agents appointed in the various foreign centres. Any incorrect reports are to be telegraphed home and corrected by telegrams issued by the company. The countries in which the system is to be immediately inaugurated are chiefly the South American States and those of the Far East, but the system is to embrace all countries outside Europe. The German cable rates for Press telegrams are to be reduced in the interests of the new company.

“ It is difficult to say whether the evil which the new company is to remedy really exists, or exists to any perceptible extent, but it is certain that a very influential private company has been called into existence with every official encouragement commanding an enormous revenue for the purposes of a pro-German newspaper propaganda. Whether the evil exists or not—the money will be spent on secret service to popularise Germany abroad. It does not seem to have occurred to the

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promoters of the scheme that they are preparing the ground for a vast system of international blackmail—hardly a proper way to reach the desired end.”

It should never be forgotten that Sir Edward Goschen, the British Ambassador in Berlin, when war broke out, was insulted and outraged on the eve of his departure, during his departure and until he crossed with his suite the frontier of Germany with the knowledge and consent of the German Government.

In the dreadful days borne by the Ambassador and the Staff of the British Embassy in Berlin each of the representatives of England bore himself with the courage characteristic of his race. Something, however, remains to be done. The insults to the Ambassador of the King of England who had exposed the adulteration of British opinion through newspapers in Fleet Street requires expiation. A British Ambassador represents the King. Insult or outrage against the British Ambassador is outrage and insult against the King of England. The Institute of Journalists, under the presidency of the editor of the paper

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that published the Neutrality League circulars, snowed me under when I attempted to obtain an inquiry into the relation between the German Embassy and London versus British Journalism.

I am informed on good authority that the man who gave the order for the ten advertisements in *The Daily News* and other papers was Norman Angell, whose real name is Lane. My informant, in whom I have confidence, states : " Of course, it was not his money."

I close this chapter with a quotation from *The Daily News* of 3rd August 1914 :

" Monstrous Immorality—There must be no inventing of pretexts for falling upon Germany. That would be, not only a monstrous act of immorality, but a monstrous blow at the welfare of this country. This country must preserve her neutrality. Any other policy would be treason to Liberal principle."

Is there or is there not evidence of the Hidden Hand in British journalism ?

The expulsion from Trade Unions of German, Austrian, Turkish and enemy members followed the declaration of war as a natural act.

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The women journalists expelled their Germans and their Austrians on the outbreak of war. The Institute of Journalists, to which I belong, did not consider it necessary to do so.

Why don't I resign ?

Because it is bad policy to resign from anything if you are in a better position by remaining to defend from inside the interests of the country. I have reason to believe that Germans and Austrians are still entrenched in Fleet Street.

Every German and Austrian member was turned out from the Society of Women Journalists, and was also expelled from the Pioneer Club. On my inquiry whether enemy aliens still belonged to the Institute of Journalists I was not favoured with a reply for a considerable time. On writing a second time and requesting a reply to my inquiry I received the following letter :—

THE INSTITUTE OF JOURNALISTS,
(*Incorporated by Royal Charter*).
TUDOR STREET, LONDON, E.C.
19th February 1917.

DEAR SIR,—In reply to your letter of the 10th February, I am instructed by the Executive Com-

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mittee to state that the question has been already considered and has now been further considered on submission of your letter, and that to the best of their belief there are no members to whom the description that you mention would apply.

Yours very truly,

(Signed) H. H. THOMPSON,

General Secretary.

ARNOLD WHITE, Esq.,

(Fellow).

The Official Report of the work of the Institute, printed in the Institute Journal for February, 1917, reports as follows :—

“ A letter was read from Mr Arnold White, asking whether ‘ any German or Austrian subjects, whether naturalised or otherwise, are members of the Institute ? ’ It was decided to inform Mr Arnold White that the Executive Committee has no knowledge of members of that description.”

CHAPTER XIX

NATURALISED ALIENS AND THE HIDDEN HAND

“No person born out of the Kingdoms of England, Scotland or Ireland or the dominions thereunto belonging (although he be naturalised or made a denizen, except such as are born of English parents) shall be capable to be of the Privy Council or a member of either House of Parliament or to enjoy any office or place of trust either civil or military or to have any grant of lands, tenements, or hereditaments from the Crown to himself or to any other or others in trust for him.”—Act of Settlement, 1700.

“An alien who has resided in the United Kingdom for a period of not less than five years may obtain a certificate of naturalisation from one of her Majesty’s principal Secretaries of State.”—Naturalisation Act, 1870, Sec. 4. Re-enacted in Part II. of the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act 1914.

“An alien to whom a certificate of naturalisa-

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tion is granted shall in the United Kingdom be entitled to all political and other rights, powers, and privileges . . . to which a natural-born British subject is entitled . . . in the United Kingdom.”—Naturalisation Act, 1870, Sec. 7. Re-enacted and extended in Part II. of the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act 1914.

The above extracts from the Act of Settlement and that Magna Charta of the domiciled enemy, the Naturalisation Act of 1870, indicate the change which took place within a hundred and seventy years in the British attitude to resident foreigners. The two Acts concisely express the contrast in view of the age of Anne and of the Victorian era towards naturalisation. The generation which grappled with Louis XIV., and in whose memories the sinister activities of Hansa merchants and Bourbon agents were fresher than in Cobden's mind or Gladstone's, was unwilling to take needless risks. It was a generation which recognised the necessity of excluding men of foreign birth from a share in State secrets and from a voice in the government of Englishmen, Scotsmen and Irishmen. It was a generation which, in the year

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the Act of Settlement was passed, was fighting to preserve the Balance of Power in Europe. As to-day, wounded British soldiers in the streets of English cities served to remind the contemporaries of Addison that in the last resort freedom must be defended by force of arms and at the expense of death and suffering.

The League of Democratic Control was not then in existence, and to our downright ancestors the idea of five years' residence on British soil being sufficient to destroy the associations and sympathies of a lifetime with the country of a man's birth would have appeared monstrous. And it should be remembered that although France was the country which then sought to subdue Western Europe, it was less French than German influence which our ancestors had in mind when they framed the Act of Settlement. After Scottish rulers had been tried and found wanting, it became necessary to send an invitation to the Elector of Hanover to come over and rule. He came without reluctance, and in his train there appeared German ideas, German courtiers and German concubines. But England was not Germanised. Englishmen of those days were more insular and

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less cosmopolitan than their Victorian descendants, less tolerant of foreign activities within the realm, more suspicious of foreign intrigue at Court and elsewhere; and besides the obstacle to Germanisation opposed by the national temper there was the greater obstacle of the Act of Settlement. The Statute forbade foreigners, although naturalised, to enter Parliament or the Privy Council; in other words, our ancestors reserved the government of Britain for men of British birth.

Who can deny, with the knowledge we now have of German activities before and after 1914 in Belgium, Russia, France and the United States, and with a naturalised spy in German pay sent by the electors of Darlington to represent them in the House of Commons, and in their name to vote on the naval estimates, that the generation which framed the Act of Settlement possessed sound instincts in excluding naturalised foreigners from Parliament and the Privy Council?

One hundred and seventy years later a change had come over the minds of Englishmen. In 1870 we were not at war. Of the long duel with Napoleon little was remembered, except the

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victories of the Fleet, the battle of Waterloo and the boastful phrase that one Englishman was the equal of three foreigners. Few families had been affected by the privations and sufferings of the Peninsular and Crimean armies; hence the memory of what war means to men who take part in it had never been realised or, if realised, had long been forgotten. And middle-class England was making money. The dogmas of the Manchester school had been accepted by the nation, and in order that loaves and labour might be cheapened for town-dwelling employed and employers, a deadly blow had been struck at British agriculture. Rosy views prevailed as to the permanence of peace, the misleading copy-book platitude that it takes two to make a quarrel being then firmly believed in. Although Britain was fast becoming a parasitic nation, dependent on other countries for the daily bread of her people, little thought was then given to safeguarding the ocean trade routes, or to the strategic aspect of the dwindling supply of English corn. Free Trade had won the day, unrestricted imports were to make the foreigner love us, and it was believed to be in the nation's interest to throw the doors of

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British citizenship wide open to all who wished to enter ; and what was a more drastic step, to open Parliament and the Privy Council to men of alien birth.

One may approve or disapprove the motives which inspired the framers of the Naturalisation Act of 1870, but it would be unjust to condemn the men of the Victorian era for not possessing the clearer vision which we, of a disillusioned generation, have acquired in the ordeal of war. Yet the Naturalisation Act of 1870, and its successor, the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act of 1914, savour rather of Utopia than of world conditions as they really were in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Framed by a trustful generation in whom the sense of danger had been deadened by long years of peace and growing wealth, the Naturalisation Act enabled foreigners, without formally disowning their domicile of origin, to become Englishmen on the sole qualification of a five years' residence in this country, and with the sanction of one of her Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State. When it is remembered that the Act also admitted persons thus naturalised to Parliament and the

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Privy Council, no great effort of the imagination is required to realise how formidable a weapon this Act could become in the hands of a foreign government which had decided to fasten a quarrel on the British Empire. Its danger was realised only by few persons for forty-four years. But the thunder of the great German howitzers at Liège shattered many an illusion in the minds of the tolerant and lethargic English, and then in a flash the obvious fact was realised for the first time that an Act of the British Parliament was not sufficient in every case to change a good German into a loyal Englishman. Yet the naturalised German was strongly entrenched in the United Kingdom. After the outbreak of war, an Act intended to extend the rights of naturalised persons and aliens—known as the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act 1914—received the Royal Assent. Even though his sons and brothers might be fighting against us, the naturalised Hun of Hampstead, Maida Vale, Bradford, Hull and countless other English towns, by a legal fiction—a fiction which has protected him as a class throughout the war—was as good an Englishman as his Majesty the King or Sir William Robertson. And this in spite of the fact

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that the Delbrück Law encouraged a German subject who became naturalised in another country to retain his German nationality !

Even to-day millions of our fellow-countrymen are not alive to the powerful assistance which the Naturalisation Act of 1870 has afforded to the General Staffs of the Central Empires. The French know by bitter and bloody experience what German penetration in time of peace has cost them. Twice within fifty years their eastern departments have been overrun by invasions, for which the path has been prepared in peace by all sorts and conditions of German agents, of whom not the least were men who professed strong French sympathies, and who sometimes were respected members of local municipal Councils. The Belgians have repented in anguish of their folly in allowing Germans, naturalised and unnaturalised, rich and poor, male and female, a free hand in Belgium prior to August, 1914. But the well-to-do Englishman over military age has not hitherto been profoundly stirred by the revelations of German peaceful penetration at home or abroad. Before the war he noted without protest that people who called attention to

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the danger were dubbed "scaremongers" by half the Press and by many alleged statesmen. The methods of Stieber, as developed by Steinhauer, were unknown to him, and if he had been informed of their existence he would have laughed. Even to-day he is only half awake. So far, war in its worst aspect has spared British soil, for, thanks to the Royal Navy and the martyrs of the old Regular Army, our bewildered nation was spared the fate of the fat sheep with the butcher's knife at its throat, and was given time to arm and train.

A few hits on houses by bombs from aircraft and one or two hurried bombardments of East Coast towns is the extent of the homekeeping Englishman's acquaintance with the actualities of warfare, and even these experiences have come the way of very few. Hence any sense of personal danger from enemy agents, naturalised or unnaturalised, within our midst, has not been fully awakened. It required the invasion of Belgium by German armies to reveal the past activities of peaceful German guests of the Belgian nation. In the same way the activities of German agents within the United Kingdom will only be fully revealed when a German army has been

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thrown ashore on the East Coast. Then will be their opportunity, as it was their opportunity in Bohemia in 1866, in France in 1870, and in France, Belgium and Poland in 1914-1915.

It is no answer to object that there never was and is not now any danger of a German invasion of the United Kingdom. No civilian and few sailors and soldiers possess the knowledge to justify an assertion so sweeping. We know that in February, 1917, there were fourteen thousand subjects of the Central Empires uninterned in the City and County of London alone. The number of naturalised Germans within the United Kingdom, whose opportunities for mischief are greater, has never been disclosed. Some of these naturalised Germans are working to-day for the land of their birth ; others are loyal British citizens. Scotland Yard and the Intelligence Officers of the two fighting services know the number of naturalised Germans who hitherto have been caught red-handed. They do not know the total number of naturalised Germans who have been working for the enemy, or who have their task allotted to them in the event, likely or unlikely, of an attempt to invade these islands. The Naturalisation Act of

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1870 has made the task of Scotland Yard and the Intelligence Officers harder than it need have been.

The case of three prominent men of German birth, all of whom owe their British nationality to the Act of 1870, has attracted considerable attention since the outbreak of war. Two of them, Sir Ernest Cassel and Sir Edgar Speyer, the former of whom was naturalised in 1878 and the latter in 1892, were sworn of the Privy Council in 1902 and 1909 respectively, the former under a Unionist and the latter under a Liberal Government. Both received baronetcies, but the precise nature of the services to their adopted country for which "honours" were their reward has never been divulged. Possibly the publication of the balance sheets of party funds during the present century might help to illuminate this obscure question. Both are rich men and therefore had troops of English friends. The third British citizen, Baron Bruno von Schröder, is a more recent fellow-countryman of ours. When, in 1914, Baron Schröder's then fellow-countrymen violated the neutrality of Belgium and began murdering non-combatants, Baron Schröder was a subject of his Imperial Majesty the German Emperor.

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Presumably by the Delbrück Law he still remains a German subject, although three days after the outbreak of war the Asquith Government allowed him to acquire British nationality in return, as stated in answer to questions in the House of Commons, for services rendered to the Bank of England after England's decision to fight. The precise nature of these services has never been published, and it is reasonable to expect, now that any plea on public grounds for secrecy no longer applies, that the nation be told all the truth about Baron Schröder's favoured treatment when less wealthy, prominent and powerful Germans were put behind barbed wire. Was British credit at Baron Schröder's mercy? If so, let the nation know it, in order that the mistake of allowing a man of his race to acquire the position of dictator in the City of London may be guarded against in future. Baron Schröder's relatives are serving in the German Army and are engaged in killing soldiers of the British and Allied armies. But Baron Schröder during the war has employed English men and boys to act as beaters for him on the estate near Penn, in Buckinghamshire, which he has leased from Lord Howe. Thanks to

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the Naturalisation Act of 1870, Baron Schröder is now as good an Englishman as Sir John Jellicoe, but evidently he has something yet to learn of what is expected of an English gentleman in time of war, for he continued to breed pheasants until a very recent date, and employed able-bodied Englishmen, badly needed on the land, for the purpose of rearing and looking after game. Evidently his personality is an attractive one, for Englishmen have shot with him at Penn during the past year. Baron Schröder still retains sufficient sympathy with the country of his birth to take a lively interest in the German hospital in Dalston Lane, London, which we are assured on his authority "has continued on exactly the same lines as before the war." With Lord Haldane the Baron has contributed liberally to Germans in England.

In order to test the legality of naturalised aliens becoming members of the Privy Council, Sir George Makgill, one of the founders of the British Empire Union, instituted proceedings calling upon Sir Edgar Speyer and Sir Ernest Cassel to show cause by what authority they claimed to be members of his Majesty's Privy Council of Great

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Britain. In November and December, 1915, the case was heard in the King's Bench Division before Lord Reading (of all people), also Sir Horace Avory and Sir Charles Lush. The Law officers of the Crown took part in the case, technically as counsel for the Clerk of the Crown and the Home Secretary, really as advocates at the taxpayers' expense of the retention of Sir Edgar Speyer and Sir Ernest Cassel as Privy Councillors. The arguments on both sides were of a highly technical nature, the existing law on the subject of naturalised aliens being of a nature baffling to the lay mind, but the outcome of the case was that, in the existing state of the law, naturalised Germans with cosmopolitan connections may be admitted to the Privy Council. Such being the interpretation of the existing law by three of his Majesty's judges (one of them Lord Reading), the larger question arises as to whether the existing law can be suffered to continue in force. It is difficult to discover on what grounds, except on the assumption that the formalities of naturalisation *ipso facto* change every man's sympathies, the doors of Parliament and the Privy Council were ever opened to naturalised aliens. Is the

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United Kingdom so destitute of administrative ability that we are compelled to admit men of the same blood as Edith Cavell's murderers to assist in the task of governing the Empire? Knowing what we now know of the methods of the German Empire, would public opinion have allowed Sir Ernest Cassel and Sir Edgar Speyer, destitute of any feeling of loyalty to the German Empire as these particular individuals doubtless are, to have been admitted to Parliament or the Privy Council since the outbreak of war? The existing tangle in the law affecting aliens is a national danger. The case of the German spy Lincoln Trebitsch, who took the oath of allegiance to the King on taking his seat in the House of Commons, serves as a reminder of the elaborate mess our legislators of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have made of the law affecting aliens. Not the least of the problems which confront the nation when the war is finished is a reform of this branch of the law, there being required a new codifying Act to be inspired by the single idea of the safety of the British Empire in peace and war. Whatever merits may be claimed for the Naturalisation Act of 1870 and the British Nationality and Status of

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Aliens Act of 1914, the safety of the realm would appear to have been the last motive which inspired them. The case has been admirably presented by Dr Ellis Powell, the leader of the movement against the Hidden Hand.

Extract from Financial News, 26th July 1916

On May 17 of last year [1915] Sir Edgar Speyer wrote to Mr Asquith resigning his position as a Privy Councillor and expressing a desire for the revocation of his baronetcy. He said that since the outbreak of war he had "kept silence and treated with disdain the charges of disloyalty and suggestions of treachery made" against him "in the press and elsewhere." He went on to complain that these charges and suggestions had "now been repeated by public men, who had not scrupled to use their position to inflame the overstrained feelings of the people." He was not a man, Sir Edgar added, who could be "driven or drummed by threats or abuse into an attitude of justification." But he considered it due to his honour as a loyal British subject, and to his personal dignity as a man, to withdraw from all his public positions.

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On 22nd May 1915 Mr Asquith replied :

DEAR SIR EDGAR,—I can quite understand the sense of injustice and indignation which prompted your letter to me. I have known you long and well enough to estimate at their true value these baseless and malignant imputations upon your loyalty to the British Crown.

The King is not prepared to take any step such as you suggest in regard to the marks of distinction which you have received in recognition of public services and philanthropic munificence.

Yours sincerely,

H. H. ASQUITH.

A great danger arises from the Germans in our midst who exhibit a great power for mischief and treachery. These Germans are looked upon by misguided people who are acquainted with them as “quite harmless” and quite loyal to their country. Every sane Englishman admits, as a general principle, that all Germans should be interned, but knows one particular German who is an exception to the rule. There are large numbers of naturalised Germans in the City still carrying on business undisturbed, because, forsooth, they

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married British wives and have grown-up families, of which the sons are in the British Army. Men who are for the most part past middle age are of precisely the same mentality as they have always been and are not in sympathy of thought with their own sons. In some cases violent discord has existed between German fathers and their British sons. This state of affairs is a fairly general rule, to which, however, there are some exceptions. In some cases the sons have the same anti-English sentiments as their fathers; in other cases the fathers have come to this country more from preference of British institutions and surroundings to their own than from any material advantage gained by emigration.

On the whole, however, the true mentality of German emigrants of thirty to forty years' standing in this country is a sealed book to their British friends and acquaintances who have known them for many years. Now the attitude of the Government towards this type has been to regard it as inoffensive unless the contrary is conclusively proved, which seems to me to be simply fatuous. How does the German Government regard the same type of Englishman in the same circum-

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stances in Germany ? It interns him. I am not referring to the Englishman being starved and ill-treated in making the comparison.

There is another class of German to be dealt with in this country, a number of whom are ✓ masquerading as subjects of our Allies. Many of these are of military age, and all, or nearly all, are violently hostile to us. These are not under the same necessity of concealing their real sentiments towards this country as those who are naturalised or domiciled in the country. The authorities seem to be incapable of judging of the real nationality of Germans who claim to be native-born Russians. Is it not easily conceivable that all ✓ Germans who are at large have opportunities in every direction of doing mischief ? Such mischief can be wrought in many ways that are unobserved by the police authorities and leaves no evidence, never even raising suspicion. Whatever organised mischief the Hidden Hand is enacting, there is no doubt that the total mischief is largely increased by the indifference and blindness of the nation at large to the unorganised influence for evil of the number of Germans at large in our midst.

CHAPTER XX

THE HIDDEN HAND AND LORD GREY OF FALLODEN

PRINCE LICHNOWSKY, the last German Ambassador (let us hope), before leaving England on 6th August 1914 had a conversation with the English Foreign Secretary, Sir Edward Grey (now Lord Grey of Falloden). The report of this conversation was published in Germany, telegraphed by Reuter from Amsterdam on 27th August 1915, and published in many British newspapers which refuse to print false documents. Sir Edward Grey is reported to have said that he would "always be ready, in the event of his being still in office, to undertake mediation to help us [Germany]. He was remote from every idea to crush Germany." Sir Edward Grey is also reported by the German Ambassador to have stated that Great Britain "could at any moment THREATEN TO RETIRE FROM THE FIGHT." Sir Edward Grey is an honest, high-minded, handsome well-bred English country gentleman.

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He has not publicly denied the accuracy of Prince Lichnowsky's report of the fateful conversation. All that he has said on the subject is to deny that he had ever threatened "to retire from the fight." Can we wonder that, as nobody ever charged him with that statement, our Allies believe that he did say that which he has not denied saying?

What he is reported to have said and what hitherto has not been denied that he did say, was that Britain could at any moment "threaten to retire" from the fight and thus inferentially enable England to coerce her Allies into premature surrender to the claims of Germany. Not only Englishmen, but the large majority of white men and coloured men, prefer the word of Sir Edward Grey to the word of the late German Ambassador. Since Sir Edward Grey has not chosen to deny the statement attributed to him, the presumption is that he was acting unconsciously and innocently under compulsion from the Hidden Hand. From 14th August 1914 to the present day the same mysterious, silent, intelligent Anglophobe mailed fist is still at work.

Evidence of the existence of the Hidden Hand lies broadcast. After one of the Zeppelin raids

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high officials were informed by telephone that the town of Chesterfield was being bombarded by a second Zeppelin raid, which was alleged to have taken place at 5.30 p.m. on the day after the previous raid. The Government Department that was "spoofed" over the telephone by the audible voice of the owner of the Invisible Hand was subjected to a good deal of chaff. Anyone can walk into a call office in any part of the United Kingdom, personate a Chief Constable of any county and then spread at his leisure false tales in the interests of Germany.

With much talk of economy, the Invisible Hand has arranged for food bought and paid for by taxpayers to be burnt rather than sold or given away. Half a bullock was offered to a friend of mine. Being against the King's Regulations to accept half a bullock or half a sheet of notepaper belonging to the Crown, the half bullock was burned. Over-issue of rations is met by the burial of rations. Boots and equipment have been burnt. Ships with steam up, waiting for weeks at a time in the Channel, for want of organisation, have cost the taxpayer thousands of pounds for demurrage. The artificial rise in

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freight was an effective blockade. That blockade is the work of the Invisible Hand.

Civilian doctors are overworked while many doctors in Government service are hard put to it to find work until midday. Of all the events that have happened since the beginning of the war, the refusal of the late Ministry to hold a British court martial on the loss of the *Formidable* was one demonstration of the power of the Hidden Hand. I am not free to tell the true story. When it is told it will be found that the Hidden Hand was hard at work during the Irish troubles and in the Curragh Camp affair before the outbreak of war. The "bad weather" which was "expected" when a certain squadron was ordered to Belfast was predicted by the Hidden Hand. The loss of the *Formidable* sits heavily on the mind and the conscience of the English people. It was avoidable. Captain Loxley and a faithful dog friend of his were drowned from the bridge of a ship handed over to the enemy by the Hidden Hand. The enemy at first refused or neglected to destroy the ship. Accordingly the Hidden Hand repeatedly proffered the gift of the *Formidable*. The loss of Sir Christopher Cradock's squadron was the

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work of the Hidden Hand. The same may be said of the *Hampshire* and many other such cases.

The operations of the Hidden Hand differ in degree and in kind, according to the men brought under its influence. Sir Edward Grey was obviously sincere when he said that England and her Allies would "collapse" if we incurred the "resentment of neutrals." Yet the fact remained that no public man ever talked more puerile nonsense than that. So far from it being a fact that England and her Allies would "collapse" if we told all neutrals, without fear or favour, that their feeding of Germany is an unfriendly act to us, it is the neutrals who would collapse—not England.

We are fighting for all neutrals, not because we love them, but because their interests happen to be our interests and the interests of all the planet outside Germany. The combined naval force of all the neutrals in the world does not amount to anything worth consideration by Great Britain, France, Italy, Russia and Japan. Yet the Hidden Hand seemed to slap Sir Edward Grey in the dark and sent him down to the House of

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Commons to patter puerilities about the awful consequences of warning neutral Powers to keep off the grass while we were fighting for our own lives and for theirs in the ring.

Of all the triumphs of the Hidden Hand there is none greater than its successful manipulation of the events which led to the escape of the *Goeben* and *Breslau* ; to the war with Turkey ; to the murder or disablement of 206,000 men of our race in the Gallipoli Peninsula. What harm had Turkey ever done to us ? What harm have we ever done to Turkey ? Who are we that we should have offered Constantinople to Russia ? Who are the Turks that they should offer London to Germany ? I can understand the argument that it was necessary to help our Russian friends by raising the rate of exchange of the rouble, but it was not necessary to offer Constantinople to another Power as though it were a box of chocolates to be given to a pretty girl by an irresponsible “ knut.” The finger-prints of the Hidden Hand showed that he had a sense of humour. When the last troops left Gallipoli an aeroplane hovered over the farewell scene. A paper was dropped, on which was inscribed :

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“We don’t want to lose you, but we think you ought to go.” Between the Seylla of silly optimism and the Charybdis of ignorant pessimism there is a narrow strait. To steer our course we must take the Hidden Hand off the helm.

CHAPTER XXI

THE HIDDEN HAND IN IRELAND, THE HELIGOLAND OF THE ATLANTIC

I WAS in the Speaker's Gallery of the House of Commons when Mr T. P. O'Connor started the bout of fisticuffs by interrupting Mr Chamberlain with shouts of "Judas ! Judas !" Mr O'Connor pronounced the word "Judas" as though it were spelt "Judass, Judass." Students of Shakespeare may remember the second scene in Act V. of *Love's Labour's Lost*, which is as follows :—

HOLOFERNES. "Judas I am."—

DUMAIN. A Judas !

HOL. Not Iscariot, sir,—

"Judas I am, yelepéd Maccabeus."

DUM. Judas Maccabeus clipt is plain Judas.

BIRON. A kissing traitor.—How art thou proved Judas ?

HOL. "Judas I am."—

DUM. The more shame for you, Judas.

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HOL. What mean you, sir ?

BOYET. To make Judas hang himself.

HOL. Begin, sir ; you are my elder.

BIRON. Well follow'd : Judas was hanged on an elder.

HOL. I will not be put out of countenance.

BOYET. Therefore, as he is an ass, let him go. And so adieu, sweet Jude ! nay, why dost thou stay ?

DUM. For the latter end of his name.

BIRON. For the ass to the Jude ? give it him :—Jud-as, away.

HOL. This is not generous ; not gentle ; not humble.

BOYET. A light for Monsieur Jude ? it grows dark, he may stumble.

PRINCESS. Alas, poor Maccabeus, how hath he been baited !

While I am writing this chapter information reaches me from trustworthy sources that a second Irish Rebellion is arranged between Sinn Feiners inside and outside the House of Commons and the German General Staff. I have reason to

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know that the Cabinet has been informed from independent sources. The information that has reached me has also reached Ministers. On the day on which I write these lines the newspapers report the arrest of thirty-seven rebels, allies of Germany. The majority of them were interned in England after the rebellion of May, 1916. Offers to release them were made on condition that they would undertake not to continue their campaign of insurgency. In every case the offer was refused. But the Irish heroes were released, notwithstanding. They have been rearrested, loudly expressing their contempt for the British Government. They are again released!

To understand the working of the Hidden Hand in Ireland it is necessary to grasp the relation between Ireland, Irish ports, harbours, coast communications and the strategical unity of the British Empire of which the United Kingdom is the matrix.

Ireland is the Heligoland of the Atlantic. What Heligoland is to Brunsbüttel and the Elbe so Queenstown, Bantry Bay and Lough Swilly are to England and the Atlantic Ocean. Thinking in compartments is fatal to obtaining correct con-

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clusions as to Ireland and Sea Power. For years I have been alarmed at the levity with which our rulers (on both sides of the House) contemplated with equanimity the ultimate surrender of Irish soil to people who might or might not be our friends in a world war. This war was inevitable ever since the Preamble to the German Naval Bill of 1900 gave us deliberate notice of the intention of Germany to attack England with the object of destroying English Sea Power. That Bill was a Declaration of War.

Again and again I have entreated and pressed the authorities to consider the question of Ireland and Sea Power without reference to Party politics. I was snubbed and ridiculed for pointing out over and over again that the Home Rule Bill, now the Home Rule Act, not only ignores the question of Sea Power but treats the command of Irish communications and harbours as negligible factors in the strategical unity of the United Kingdom. I urged that the administration of the harbours of Ireland, of the wireless system and of all Irish communications should be expressly exempted from any mixture of martial law and politics. I was told that everything would be all right "on the day."

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Before the war most of us foresaw an Irish rising which would probably be easily quelled. All of us, before the war, conjectured that the Royal Navy would be used for all it was worth. We were right about the rising. We were wrong about the use of the Navy. It is necessary to emphasise this point to understand the proposition which I endeavour to establish, namely, that the control of the Admiralty over the harbours of Ireland must be secured for all time, and that the coasts and communications of Ireland must be held by the Royal Navy for the same reason that the coasts of Germany are blockaded by the Grand Fleet.

Not only coastal communications but internal communications affect the Sea Power of Britain. When Dublin rose in insurrection on 25th April 1916, the Post Office, according to information upon which I can rely, contained not sixteen Sinn Feiners but something like nine hundred Sinn Feiners or sympathisers. The stores and provisions conveyed into the building, the cutting of telegraphic communications, the printing of stamps and badges and the many signs of Civil Service efficiency in the complex arrangements for the

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rebellion, suggest, but do not prove, that the rebellion was to a certain extent a Post Office and Civil Service Rebellion. I will state the facts as they were given to me.

At 1.15 P.M. on 25th April 1916, a Sinn Fein Post Office operator in Dublin telephoned, as he thought, to his confederate in Cork, the formula agreed on between them :

“ Dublin has risen ; let Cork rise.”

But, as luck would have it, the Cork operator was away at lunch and a Unionist received the message instead. He went straight to the Postmaster, who was a loyal man. The consequence was that the necessary communications never reached the leaders of the conspiracy ; therefore Cork did not rise.

All Irish communications, for naval and military purposes, should be rigorously reserved to the loyal.

For five days communications were cut off between Dublin and the rest of Ireland. The Admiral at Queenstown, the Admiral at Kingstown and the Senior Naval Officers at the various strategic points on the Irish coast may, or may not, have required to communicate with the

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Admiralty or with each other through the Post Office at Dublin. If they did, naval efficiency was impaired or destroyed from the time that the Irish Republic flag was hoisted over the Dublin Post Office until the time it was hauled down and communications restored. Communications are of vital importance in modern warfare; it is imperative to see that telegraphs, telephones and railways, and all means of transport and internal communication shall be in the hands of men who are loyal to their country and King.

Mr Pease, the Postmaster-General (now Lord Gainford), discredited my statement regarding the rising at Cork, and as a result of a question being asked in the House of Commons, at my instigation, on the subject, by Major the Honourable Walter Guinness, M.P., the following correspondence ensued :—

August 31st, 1916.

DEAR MR PEASE,—I have heard from Major Guinness under date 27th August 1916, that you inferentially deny Guinness' statement in the House of Commons made on 31st July on my authority.

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The facts and names were placed by me before Mr Balfour and it is possible you may have had a copy of my confidential Navy League memorandum, which I believe was communicated to Cabinet Ministers. I do not understand from your letter to Major Guinness whether it is your intention publicly to denounce my statement as untrue. If that is your intention it would be better that my answer should be given in public.

I can quite understand your concern for the loyalty of the Post Office staff both in Cork and in Dublin, but the whole question of Irish communication, if the United Kingdom is a strategical unit, is involved in this case.

Yours very truly,

(Signed) ARNOLD WHITE.

The Right Honourable JOSEPH PEASE, M.P.

Mr Pease replied as follows :—

GENERAL POST OFFICE, LONDON,
Sept. 3, 1916.

DEAR MR ARNOLD WHITE,—I acknowledge your letter of August 31st. My object in writing to

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Major Guinness was to enable him, if he so desired, to correct an inaccurate statement he made in the House of Commons.

I was not aware of the source from which he obtained the information and it appears to me you in turn must have been misled by your informants.

I was not proposing to take any further action, but if at any time it seemed to me advisable to publicly controvert the inaccurate assertion made by Major Guinness, I should not hesitate to do this.

I raise no objection to your publicly accepting responsibility for Major Guinness' statement if you think it expedient to do so, but possibly you might ascertain the opinion of the War Office before you adopt this course.

I am, yours faithfully,

(Signed) JOSEPH A. PEASE.

I replied :—

September 6th, 1916.

DEAR Mr PEASE,—I have to thank you for your letter of 3rd September.

In regard to the last paragraph I venture to point out that Hansard's Report of Major

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Guinness' speech (page 2149, 31st July, 1916) records the fact that I accepted public responsibility for Major Guinness' statement. It is therefore too late to profit by the advice you are good enough to offer as to obtaining "the opinion of the War Office" on the subject.

I am, yours faithfully,

(Signed) ARNOLD WHITE.

The Right Honourable JOSEPH A. PEASE, M.P.

This point as to entrusting the communications of Ireland, whether coastal or internal, to the enemies of the King need not be laboured further. If Home Rule be granted to the Irish theocracy in the southern and western provinces of the Sister Island, the real control of the Navy in the harbours, on the coastal wireless stations and in the Dublin Post Office, must be secured to the naval and military authorities.

CHAPTER XXII

THE HIDDEN HAND AND EDUCATION

NOBODY acquainted with the history of Irish education and of English education, or with the history of the Irish language or with the relations of English education to Irish education, can share the belief that it is possible to hand over Irish communications and Irish harbours to sympathisers with Sinn Feiners who may exercise the power to build a preventive service flotilla for Customs purposes.

Before me as I write are two Irish History Readers written and issued by the Christian Brothers. The travesty of history contained in these envenomed Readers instil with signal ability into the minds of the boys and girls of Nationalist Ireland a poisonous hatred of an imaginary England that has no existence in fact. The youngsters of Germany are being taught the same lesson. The Local Government Act of 1898, which placed the control of local taxation

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in local councils, is a hopeless failure. It is bankrupt, the councils are mainly filled with publicans and their creatures, and it is the nursery of another armed revolution.

The Land Act passed in 1903 has wholly failed to appease the rancorous hatred of 95 per cent. of the Celtic population brought up on the gospel of hate.

Old harmless amusements and the sweet old music of Ireland have been used to inflame passions that might long since have died out, had the fire not been fed with racial and religious hatred—not only on one side.

The doctrine of “Self-Reliance,” the motto of the Gaelic League, “Sinn Féin,” which may be freely translated as “Help yourselves and heaven will help you,” is to the best of my belief a sincere expression of nationalism. So long, however, as Irish Catholic education is in the hands of the haters of England, and so long as the education of Protestant children in the north is in the hands of men who understand Sea Power and the character of their fellow-Irish, it is certain that no settlement by indoor English statesmen is within the arena of practical politics.

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Whether my friend Sir Henry Howard, the late British Catholic envoy to the Holy See, could have induced the Vicar of Christ to revise Irish education in the direction of peace, honesty and good sense is not a matter upon which it is profitable to enter.

ENGLISH EDUCATION AND SEA POWER

On this side of the Channel the education of the young for the last ten years has gradually fallen into the hands of the pacifists. Mr Birrell, who nine years ago found Ireland more prosperous than it had been for six hundred years, and left the best part of Dublin in ruins like Ypres or Rheims, was the first Pacifist President of the Board of Education. He was succeeded by a Quaker, Mr Runciman. The post of Chief Inspector of Schools became vacant.

Instead of ascertaining who was the ablest man to fill this most important position, he gave it to a friend of his—Mr Orange—who had just returned from the Indian Education Service and was unemployed. As Mr Orange had no idea

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what to do, he appointed a friend of his—a Quaker—Mr Dale, from amongst the inspectorate, to be Chief Inspector of London, so that he could be handy to coach him up. Happily for Mr Orange, the post of Accountant-General fell vacant, so Mr Orange was given that post, and Mr Dale, a Quaker, became Chief Inspector. Mr Runciman was interested in Hygiene and was a keen anti-militarist. So he created the post of Chief Medical Officer, which he gave to another Quaker friend of his—Mr Newman. To add dignity to the high emoluments of this position, he decided that Mr Newman should be knighted, before he had done anything to “win his spurs” except by being uniformly obstructive to Colonel Fox, who had spent his life and energy and much of his own money in promoting the physical welfare of the British soldier. Colonel Fox did splendid pioneer work at the Board of Education almost entirely at his own expense. Mr (now Sir George) Newman at first had “conscientious objections” to accepting a knighthood, being a Quaker, but his scruples were overcome. Mr Runciman was succeeded by a fellow Quaker—Mr Pease—my old opponent at Tyneside.

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The Germans, who had been carefully watching their opportunity for many years, seeing England governed by plutocrats and their hired advocates, and distracted by strikes and internal dissensions, the natural and inevitable result of supine hypocritical and cowardly rule, plunged Europe into war. Mr Pease remained a Member of the Government which declared war against Germany and issued a circular to all schools pointing out the justice of the war in which we were engaged, but making it quite clear that it was entirely a matter of "conscience" whether anyone should take up arms or not. At the formation of the Coalition Government, when the question of National Service became a burning issue, Pease resigned; but as soon as a definite promise had been extorted from the Prime Minister that the Quakers should be exempted his conscience permitted him to accept the post of Postmaster-General, which is the most important Ministry concerned with internal communications and the opening of letters.

Mr Pease was succeeded by Mr Henderson, a lay preacher without training or education. His only qualification for the post, apparently, was

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that with Mr Asquith and Mr Bonar Law he had concocted the inspiring address pointing out to every elector that he must consult his "conscience" as to whether he should join H.M. Forces. Quite recently he has made a more robust speech, saying that "Prussian Militarism" must be crushed, and emphasising his rooted dislike of all "Militarism."

Thus Germany, with ever increasing power and ever more elaborately planned organisation and concentration of resources, whose ruthless aim is to achieve the political and economic downfall and humiliation of England, is to be confronted in the next generation by an English and Irish generation of men and women trained on this side of the water to shirk service; on the other side to hate England and the English.

Having thus briefly surveyed the relation to British Sea Power of Irish and English education I call attention to certain letters exchanged between General Sir John Maxwell, Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in Ireland, and the Most Reverend Dr O'Dwyer, Bishop of Limerick. General Maxwell addressed a circular letter to all the Catholic Bishops in Ireland asking their

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Lordships' co-operation for the purpose of removing Sinn Fein priests from the various dioceses, where they were a menace to the peace and safety of the realm. Some of the Bishops replied courteously, but the Bishop of Limerick, having demanded evidence to support the complaint made by the General, was promptly supplied with the information required. The General concluded his letter transmitting particulars required with a further request that the Bishop of Limerick should use such disciplinary powers as he possessed to prevent priests from inciting their flock to join the Irish Volunteers—*i.e.* the rebels.

The Bishop replied as follows :—

“SIR,—I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of 12th inst., which has been forwarded to me here. I have read carefully your allegations against Revs. —, but do not see in them any justification for disciplinary action on my part. They are both excellent priests, who hold strong National views, but I do not know that they have violated any law, civil or ecclesiastical. In your letter of 6th inst. you appealed to me to help

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you in the furtherance of your work as Military Dictator of Ireland. Even if action of that kind was not outside my province the events of the past few weeks would make it impossible for me to have any part in proceedings which I regard as wantonly cruel and oppressive. You remember the Jameson raid, when a number of Buccaneers invaded a friendly State, and fought the forces of the lawful Government. If ever men deserved the supreme punishment it was they. But officially and unofficially the influence of the British Government was used to save them, and it succeeded. You took care that no plea for mercy should interpose on behalf of the poor young fellows who surrendered to you in Dublin. The first information which we got of their fate was the announcement that they had been shot in cold blood. Personally I regard your action with horror, and I believe that it has outraged the conscience of the country. Then the deporting by hundreds and even thousands of poor fellows without a trial of any kind seems to me an abuse of power, as fatuous as it is arbitrary, and altogether your regime has been one of the worst and blackest chapters

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in the history of the misgovernment of this country.

“I have the honour to be, sir, your obedient servant,

“EDWARD THOMAS BISHOP OF LIMERICK.

“To General Sir J. G. MAXWELL, Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in Ireland.”

It may be stated for those who are not well acquainted with the relative position of the Irish Catholic prelates that Bishop O'Dwyer is practically the King of Catholic Ireland.

I have seen General Maxwell, who allowed me to question him on the subject, and am satisfied that if he erred at all it was in his intense desire to act with moderation and good will towards the hierarchy who rule Catholic Ireland.

If the case is established that it is dangerous to hand over the harbours and communications of Ireland to the control of a hostile people in virtual alliance with Germany, it only remains to point out the consequences to the Navy.

The Home Rule Act is so loosely worded that there is nothing to prevent the Irish Parliament from instituting a tariff against English goods, or

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from building submarines to operate against our Royal Navy and mercantile shipping. A Customs tariff requires a Preventive Service with Customs gunboats and small cruisers. These vessels must be armed. Here we have a nucleus of a hostile Irish Navy. Ireland has made two armies in spite of the law. Why not a nucleus navy? The embryo fleet would grow, unobtrusively, surreptitiously, if financed by Germany—also by the British Parliament.

Mr Lloyd George told me that the first twenty years he was in Parliament he never mentioned the British Navy. On the 1st of January 1914, in *The Daily Chronicle*, he urged the reduction of the British Navy. He is now a convert to the value of the British Fleet.

We must, however, remember that given an independent and hostile Ireland, so close to our shores, the Admiralty, even in peace time, would have to keep an appreciable squadron in Irish waters, constantly prepared for eventualities. There would be frequent intrigues between the Irish Government (and also of Irish parties not in power) and our potential enemies, with a view to injuring England.

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The German Empire, which our late Government apparently wished to revive by Free Trade after the war, will, of course, be the first and most active to respond to Irish approaches, and will take the earliest opportunity, at the request of some of the Irish, to annex the country preparatory to the next great war, which will not, under such conditions, be long delayed.

When Ireland has won her independence England could not object to her placing herself under German protection. But our Navy would have to be doubled, for we should have Germany on one side of us and on the other a German Heligoland of the Atlantic.

But even if matters do not drift as far as this our Navy will have to keep our enemies away from our coasts hostile to them. But the coasts of Ireland are mostly friendly to Germany. Even as it is, with our loyal troops and constabulary watching the coast, there is no doubt that there have been, and probably still are, supply bases for the German submarines on the west coast of Ireland.

It is a well-known fact that there is no better fighter or more loyal man than the disciplined

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Irishman. The better the discipline the better the man. There is not a large proportion of Irishmen in the Fleet (in 1913, 15,890 English recruits to 556 Irish), but there are many, and these, I have no hesitation in saying, are among the finest men we have. Here is a source of recruiting which we should lose for the Navy by Home Rule. Not only this but a disciplined, educated man, after years of service which have taught him the truth about the English, will work marvels on his return to his home, on discharge with a pension, among the younger generation who are being deliberately brought up on a diet of lies and half-truths, admirably calculated to instil a hatred of England into their minds.

For these reasons I am of opinion that the Home Rule Act should be examined by the Naval Intelligence Department before irrevocable action is taken.

CHAPTERX XIII

THE HIDDEN HAND AND THE VATICAN

THE Admiralty have a way of seeing things sanely and seeing them whole. For five years, if not for nine, the Irish Government has been a Home Rule Government, in control of communications and everything else. Apparently for that reason, and that reason alone, the Admiralty has provided its own wireless stations with approved operators and is not dependent upon the Irish Government for its communications so far as coastal wireless is concerned. Internal communications are in the hands of the Bishop of Limerick and his friends.

A private wireless school or college was formed in Dublin, where hundreds of Sinn Feiners and pro-Germans acquired proficiency in the transmission of information. The Irish Government, as revealed before the Commission, did not consist of Lord Wimborne and Mr Birrell, one of whom was an absentee and the other a puppet, but of Mr Redmond and Mr Dillon—both the

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creatures of Bishop O'Dwyer, the chief ruling power in Ireland.

Both Mr Redmond and Mr Dillon were before and since the outbreak of war in direct communication with the Vatican through their spiritual directors. It is known that forty-eight of the Cardinals are strongly pro-German, and for good reason. Only one Cardinal attended the reception of the Belgian Cardinal Mercier on his visit to his Holiness the Pope at the reception at the Vatican to his Belgian Eminence. The subject is a delicate one, but the Sea Power of England began in our English opposition to the sacerdotal claims of imperious Rome and her vassal King to dominate the people of England. The origin of the Royal Navy was of Protestant birth. It is impossible to resist the conclusion that the Government of Ireland to-day in the south and west is a theocracy as absolute and more dangerous than the Roman theocracy in Lower Canada. The dissenting clergy in England, who are in alliance with Irish sacerdotalism, have also aimed at establishing a political theocracy.

The consequence is that the German Government has two lines of communication and has double

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access to the secrets of British administration ; one through its own spies, paid or otherwise, and one through the theocracy which governs not only Catholic Ireland but Catholic Nationalist Members of Parliament who dare not oppose the claim of the priests to dominate in political and secular affairs.

It is no use blinking the fact of sacerdotal pretensions when considering the question of Irish communications in time of war. Many earnest Catholics feel as strongly on this point as myself.

It may be remembered that the Vice-Admiral of Queenstown communicated to the General the news of the forthcoming landing of Sir Roger Casement, but that the news was withheld from the Irish Government until such a time as it was immaterial whether the Germans knew that we knew or not.

The arms and munitions hidden in Ireland in what I understand to be seventy-six localities are hidden in convents and Catholic laundries which are sacrosanct by law.

When a convent is on or near the sea-coast and arms are concealed therein, Irish theocracy and British command of the sea are in conflict. The

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conventual and monastic establishments in Ireland, since the dispersion of the Orders in France, are four times as numerous as in any other civilised or uncivilised country in the world.

Evidence laid before the Rebellion Commission sitting in London and Dublin established the fact that, so far from the Sinn Feiners being a negligible quantity, in the south of Ireland from forty to sixty per cent. of the population were in sympathy with Liberty Hall and the Post Office insurgents.

In view of the conflict of opinion on this subject I had, whilst in Ireland, recourse to a class of evidence which in other countries I have found trustworthy and invaluable—that of experienced commercial travellers. I sought the advice of fifteen commercial travellers. Some of them were useless for my purpose, as they had not the faculty of close observation. Others were useful. With two of the best among them I made friends. The two I speak of I permanently retained for future communications. One of them, who had great experience, strongly impressed me. I wished to obtain the Readers of the Christian Brothers, upon which the children

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of Roman Catholic Ireland are brought up. I asked him to spend a pound note, which I gave him for the purpose, in order to send the books I required to my home, but he declined to receive any money and insisted on defraying the cost himself. He was not a strong Protestant or Carsonite, nor indeed a sympathiser with the importation of arms into Ulster. He deprecated what he termed the "violence" of Ulster. To him I put the question as to the number of Sinn Feiners among the Nationalists. He wrote his opinion as follows, and signed it.

"In my business going over Ireland for the past few weeks since the Rebellion in Dublin I have been talking to quite a lot of Nationalists, and I would be safe in saying that fully 95 per cent. of these are in sympathy with the Sinn Fein movement. Several of them said to me, What right had the Military to shoot those fifteen men in Dublin? My reply was, What right had they to shoot down soldiers and police in cold blood? And the reply I got was, It does not matter, two wrongs never yet made a right, and it will cause bad blood all over Ireland."

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At the present time I am not prepared with the evidence culled from the Irish Readers issued by the Christian Brothers to prove the fact which I propose to establish—viz. that the present generation of Irish boys and girls is being brought up in an atmosphere of deadly hatred of England and the English Navy. To them England is the enemy, no less than Germany ; rather more so, in fact.

Although “ what the soldier said ” is not evidence, I quote the statement of Connolly, the leader of the Sinn Feiners—a man of brains, an honest man, and the only one who stood up to the rifles of the firing squad, instead of sitting, like the others, collapsed in a chair.

Three minutes before his death Connolly said that he wished to make a statement. He said :

“ ‘ I have had a fair trial. I make no complaint and thank you for your efforts to make the best of my case. In return I wish you to know that I hate England and the English. When we have beaten England we will fight and beat Germany. Lastly I would have you know that Dillon and the other Irish Members of Parliament who are

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not renegades like Redmond hate England and the English as much as I do. Good-bye.' ”

An officer responsible for the opening of correspondence from suspected persons in England, especially the Irish Nationalist Members of Parliament, informed me, also in the presence of witnesses, that five Nationalist Members of Parliament who had publicly declared their disapproval of the Sinn Fein movement had written in strongest terms their desire to help the Sinn Fein movement. In their own handwriting they bore witness to the influence of the Irish theocracy over a portion of the Irish representatives in Parliament.

Adequate steps should be taken to protect the British Empire from the danger of opening the postern gate to the enemy in a well-meant endeavour to appease the spiritual and racial enemies of England. They are implacable. They never forgive ; never forget ; never change their secular hate.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE IRISH CHARACTER

WERE Ireland inhabited by a people frankly friendly, with a personal sense of jeopardy, owing to the fact that the strongest naval power in Europe or Asia will always in the long run be master of Ireland, there would be no need to dwell on the true attitude of the Celtic population towards England and the English. The south of Ireland is more lovable than the north, but the inhabitants of the south, centre and west are vacillating and facile in character. They possess the virtues of their qualities; also the defects. The faults of the Irish Celt consist in a lack of common-sense, continuity of purpose and self-control.

Before the war the Germans made a careful study of the Irish character. The following is an interesting translation from the article "IRLAND," taken from Meyer's *Conversation Lexicon*, which is the German equivalent of the

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French *Encyclopædia* or of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* :

GERMAN ANALYSIS OF THE CELTIC IRISH CHARACTER

“ No one can deny that the Irish possess a gift for poetry, art, music and oratory. They are keen for knowledge, sly, sharp-witted and witty, though they often assume an appearance of stupidity or simplicity to serve their purpose. But with all their intellectual gifts, they lack depth ; they are inactive ; shallow thinkers, untrustworthy workers, of no staying powers, frivolous, not equal to any great task ; thus their spasmodic and intermittent activity results in no corresponding success. Paddy is kind-hearted and dreamy ; his confidence is not hard to win, and his friendship may then be reckoned on even when the most irrational demands are made on it. He is devoted to his kith and kin. But those who are not of his friends or his blood can hardly trust him. The proverb is often seen realised : ‘ When an Irishman is on the spit, you’ll always find another Irishman to turn the spit.’ Treason has always played a great part in Irish risings.

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Conscientiousness—which is a marked characteristic of the English—is entirely lacking to the Irishman, and with all his fancies he has no great love of truth. Excitable and inclined to drunkenness and deeds of violence, he loves his pleasure too.”

Another German opinion of the Celt is to be found in the first volume of Mommsen’s *History of Rome*, which quotes Cato’s description of the Celts who “devote themselves mainly to two things—fighting and esprit.” “Such qualities are those of good soldiers, but of bad citizens,” says Mommsen. “They explain the historical fact that the Celts have shaken all states and have founded none. They are the true soldiers of fortune and follow the profession of arms with such success that even Sallust, the Roman historian, acknowledges that the Celts bore off the prize from the Romans in feats of arms.”

CHAPTER XXV

FINANCE AND THE HIDDEN HAND

IT is a mere truism that German military and naval preparations for war have been going on for forty years. The public seldom realises, however, that in the financial and economic sphere Germany was also "making ready" during the same period. Her preparations were characterised by the same abominable and dastardly features which have been conspicuously exhibited in the other elements of her colossal and world-wide conspiracy against civilisation.

There were three main features of the German economic and financial plot: (1) penetration; (2) permeation; (3) intimidation. The policy of penetration and permeation was "worked" by the thrusting of German influence and intrigue into every department of our national life. Great German banks opened offices in London. German firms established branches and factories, or else organised agencies in every branch of finance,

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industry and commerce. Inasmuch as too great an accession of undisguised German influence might have aroused suspicion, large numbers of Germans naturalised themselves. In many cases they changed their names, choosing new patronymies which would convey the idea of a genuine and extended British ancestry. The naturalisation was, in the majority of cases, only a fraudulent device. Special statutory facilities were provided by the German Government so that the German who took the oath of allegiance to the British Crown might, by means of a "mental reservation," retain his unimpaired and undiminished fealty to the Kaiser. In that way he could play the part of a perjurer and a traitor to his British allegiance, and do it with the express authority and approval of the German Government. With the same object multitudes of companies were registered, in many cases with the word "British" or some similar term in their title so as to suggest their native and patriotic character. But they were entirely owned and controlled from the Fatherland, and from their very inception their attitude was one of the deadliest and most perfidious hostility to every British in-

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terest. If they could all have been amalgamated into a single huge combine, their most apt title would have been Trade Assassins Limited.

Nor did these stealthy designs stop at this point. Armies of German managers and clerks—Iscariots of guttural accent and foul tongue—came over to England. Supported by subsidies from the German Government, and eagerly assisted by British politicians and bureaucrats, with whom they made common cause, they ousted Englishmen from their positions by the acceptance of wages upon which it was impossible for an Englishman to subsist. Sweating—the cardinal principle of the Manchester school of politics—was facilitated by these tactics, which were worth untold millions to the politicians who initiated and protected them. When the German “penetration agents,” clerks and managers alike, had once got upon the “inside track,” they extracted from their employers’ books and correspondence every iota of information likely to be useful to Germany, and secretly dispatched it to Berlin. There is scarcely a firm in Great Britain whose books have not been “fished” for the Potsdam dossiers.

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Finally, in order to neutralise any possible outbreak of public suspicion and indignation, and any resulting attempt to check this programme by statutory interference, our whole political system was corrupted and polluted with German intrigue and German gold. It is understood that immense donations (amounting in some cases to tens of thousands of pounds) were bestowed upon the Party Corruption Funds from German or naturalised German sources. In the City it is stated that the Kaiser himself gave a single £50,000 donation to the funds of one of our political parties. The election expenses of needy candidates were paid from Germany or from the tainted Party Corruption Funds on the stipulation that the beneficiaries should vote as Potsdam or the Party Whips directed, and without regard to Imperial interests. In this way not only vagrant political adventurers, the Bazaines of the ballot-box, but also naturalised Germans of the vilest type were introduced in swarms into our public life and exerted a huge influence in shaping our national policy into consistency with the instructions and interests of the Kaiser and his myrinidons. Occasionally a British "honour" was stipulated for as a part of

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one of these loathsome bargains between Potsdam and the politicians.

Even this, however, did not suffice for the full consummation of German plans. It was realised by the German Government that gratitude does not exert so powerful an influence as fear upon the human mind. When German plans were complete, and the destruction of the British Empire was finally attempted, patriotism might triumph over venality after all. What if the political vagrants and adventurers, although financed from Corruption Funds reinforced by German contributions, were to be tempted by the relies of their patriotism, or driven by the inexorable pressure of public opinion, into an attitude of hostility to Germany? What if, in the presence of an unprecedented Imperial peril, they should repudiate all the obligations created by Teuton financial favour in the past, and help to make a unanimous Britain standing like an impregnable barrier in the path of German ambition? That contingency must be prevented from embarrassing German plans. Further, the cold and all-embracing foresight of the Kaiser and his advisers always took into account the possibility of a

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German defeat in the field or on the sea. In such an emergency it would be necessary to have such a strangle-hold upon British "influence" as should prevent Britain from reaping the full advantage of her victory or from extirpating the accursed Teuton supremacy in high places which had fostered and facilitated the German scheme of world dominion. The claims of mere *gratitude* were obviously inadequate to secure for the Kaiser such eminently desirable ends as these. He must be able to threaten as well as to wheedle and cajole.

Therefore the German Government had recourse to the creation of a huge engine of intimidation. The German, the pro-German, and the naturalised German — whether holding high positions in Government offices, or up to their necks in the cesspool known as "political life," or lurking in the banks, or spying on the Stock Exchange, or stealing business data from the offices of commercial and industrial enterprises—were organised for perhaps the most abject and dishonourable task to which human beings ever applied themselves. They were to unearth every secret, relating to any person of position in public life, which seemed likely to be of ultimate use as a

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means of "pressure" for the protection and preservation of German interests. Was X. M., speculating on the Stock Exchange in the shares of a company, interested in a pending Government contract? A complete dossier of X. M.'s dealings was extracted by German or naturalised German spies and sent to Berlin. Was Y. Q., that eminent politician, accommodated with naturalised German money? Did his meddlesome and spiteful wife receive handsome cheques from naturalised German sources in connection with alleged "underwriting" or similar transactions? Complete details of the dates, with the numbers of the cheques or the full record of the bank-notes, went to Berlin. Had Z. Z. been guilty of a particularly disgraceful piece of chicanery as a means of securing promotion to a "soft job" or to Ministerial office, or to the Judicial Bench? Year after year minute details of all the scandals were added to the Potsdam archives.

And so, with unceasing assiduity, there was placed in the Kaiser's hand a monumental aggregation of secrets imperilling the reputation—aye, and perhaps the liberty, or even the life—of just the very political schemers in whose hands, as the

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All-Highest hoped, might lie the elaboration of British policy during a war with Germany and during the subsequent peace negotiations if Great Britain should, after all, become the victor in the conflict. As our callous political jugglers played chuck-farthing with the destinies of an Empire, so the Kaiser himself also played chuck-farthing with these twopenny-ha'penny politicians—and he always won the game. At the finish his diplomatic representatives in London openly boasted that we could not win the war, since they knew enough about highly placed politicians to control the whole of our military and naval policy by the mere threat of disclosure !

These assertions are so amazing that the reader may well ask for definite illustrations of the working of the permeation system. Let me, therefore, give a few. By the time the war began the whole of the Australian metal industry was dominated by the German Metal Octopus (with its headquarters in Frankfort), in which the Kaiser was a large shareholder. This organisation had its claws and tentacles all over England. They were protected from patriotic amputation and allowed to persist in full treasonable activity, for months

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and years after the war began. The nation protested : but Potsdam refused to allow any remedial legislation or other interference with its plan of campaign in this country.

Again, by means of the dominance of the Metal Octopus and the operation of similarly fiendish mechanism, the German Government was able to purchase, within a few months preceding hostilities, not less than £200,000,000 worth of war material. Payment was made, in bills, practically all of which came to London through the three German banks—the Deutsche, Dresdner and Disconto-Gesellschaft. These institutions discounted the paper with British firms, well knowing the purpose for which it had been created, and the scheme in furtherance of which it was to be placed. When war broke out, the holders of this worthless paper had to be protected from financial disaster at the expense, or at least at the risk, of the British taxpayer. One might have supposed that the first act of the Government would have been to punish the German banks which had lent themselves to so dastardly a conspiracy, especially as they had simultaneously organised a bogus “run” on the Bank of England. But once again, Germany

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used her death-grip on the throats of our politicians to veto the closing of these enemy banks. At this very moment (April, 1917), thanks to Germany's knowledge of secret politico-financial scandals, she has been able to keep these banks open in London. "Close German banks and open German mouths" is a menace which Potsdam has found amply potent for the maintenance, in undiminished strength, of these strongholds of espionage and treachery. As recently as a few months ago (in the autumn of 1916) the advertisements of the London offices of the German banks were actually appearing in American financial newspapers !

Germans were behind the scenes at every point of the hideous Marconi scandals, of which nine-tenths were concealed from the public. Since the inquiry closed, immense dealings in English Marconi shares, through a naturalised Austrian broker (one Breisach) have been unearthed. They were conducted through a nominee (one Ernest Cameron), and almost certainly represent the hidden speculations of a "right honourable" or of some high official of the Marconi Company, in the shares of an undertaking negotiating with

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the British Government. But the politicians have vetoed the disclosure of the name, for reasons which are too obvious to need specification. The Germans know it ; but the British public is not allowed to share their knowledge. Public demands for disclosure, in the national interest, have met with no response from the various political and judicial schemers involved in the Marconi scandals, though they cannot possibly be ignorant of the identity.

Thanks to this trinity of treachery—penetration, permeation and intimidation — German and naturalised German influence has been triumphant in our financial policy ever since the outbreak of the war. So far is this true that even when the Anglo-French Loan Commission crossed the Atlantic in the autumn of 1915, a naturalised German financier, a member of his Majesty's Privy Council, travelled on the same boat, as the result of " arrangements " astutely made in political circles by an eminent pro-German schemer.

The mention of the Privy Council may remind us of another great German success in the field of finance. At the outbreak of the war two naturalised German financiers (Sir Ernest Cassel and Sir

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Edgar Speyer) were members of the Privy Council. They ought at once to have been removed therefrom. As they were not, an effort was made by Sir George Makgill to put an end to the scandal of their presence on the Privy Council. Once again, however, the German Government used the screw, with the result that the taxpayers' money was actually spent in resisting Sir George Makgill's action in keeping these men on the Privy Council, thus flouting and deriding the overwhelming sentiment of the entire empire. When prominent politicians and their wives have been accommodated financially through naturalised German sources, the mere threat to disclose these transactions has always been amply sufficient to secure the impregnable maintenance of German and naturalised German interests against British attack.

This has necessarily been a very brief survey of an immense subject. It will, however, have opened the readers' eyes to unfathomable depths of faithlessness and turpitude. These seem to be inalienable and ineradicable factors of the German character. At all events, we can trace them in antagonism to us as a nation for the last six

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hundred years, and we may be certain that if we give the opportunity, fully another six centuries will elapse before these devilish propensities are in any sense modified. The lesson for us is plain. Not only must we extirpate Germanism during the period of the war, but we must see to it that the evil plant never takes root again. We shall be profoundly interested in Germany for centuries to come. We have invested money, tears and blood to an incalculable extent in the Germany of the future, and we have to see to it that the return does not fail us. Therefore, British influence in Germany is likely to be colossal during the lifetime of this and the succeeding generations. But German influence in British politics, finance and trade must be made non-existent, or all our stupendous sacrifices will be rendered as futile and abortive as if the money had been emptied into the sea and the soldiers shot down in cold blood before ever they left these shores.

[Dr Ellis Powell is the writer of this chapter. —A. W.]



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